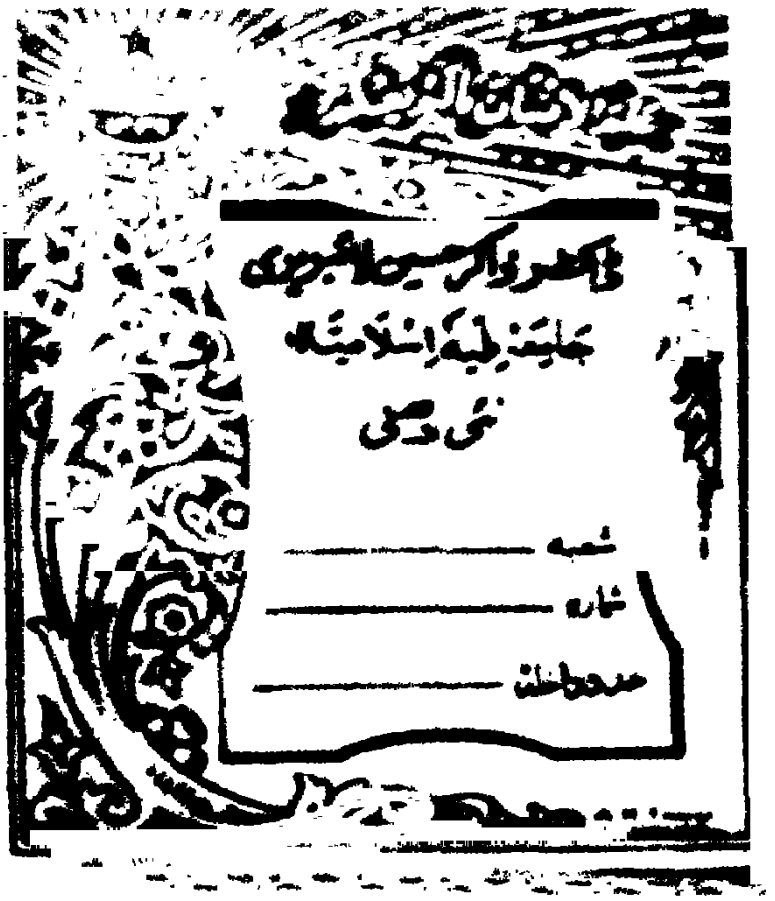


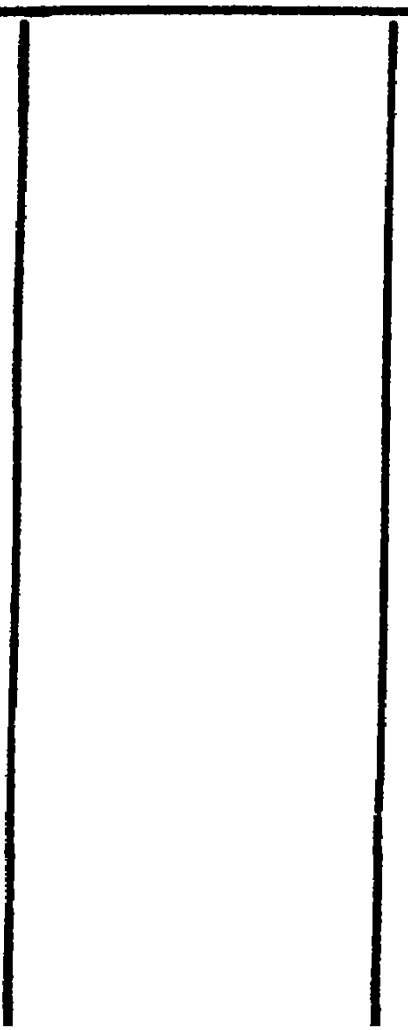
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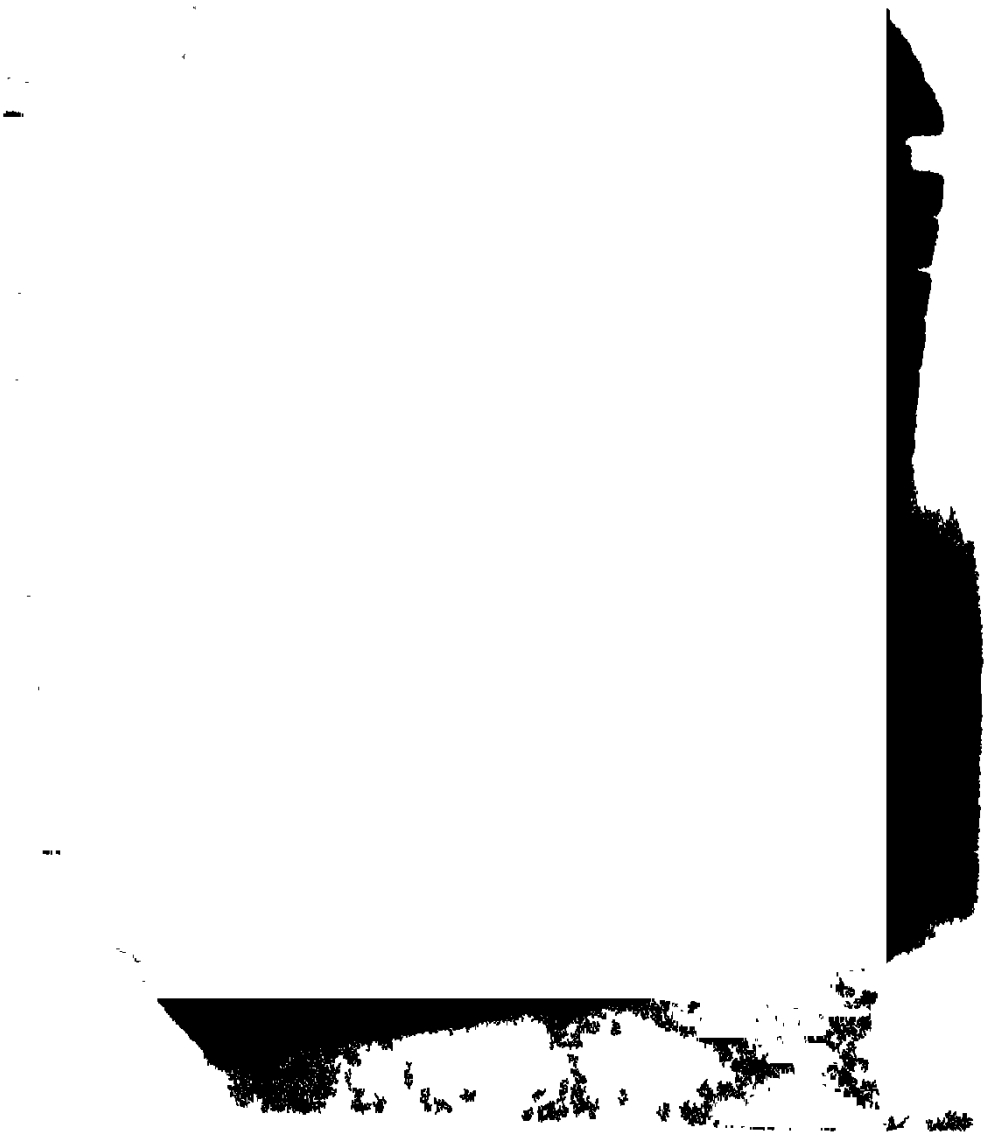
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Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 12

Chinese Bronze Sacrificial Vessel, *Fang I.*

Height 30 cm

By S. HOWARD HANSFORD

(PLATE I)

THIS splendid vessel of the rectangular *i* type dating from about the twelfth century B.C. is in the collection of Dr. N. Wessén of Stockholm. The design on each of the four sides is dominated by a *t'ao-t'ieh* mask, the main features being represented by animal forms in low relief on a ground of spirals, cloud and thunder pattern, executed with wonderful precision.

Each of the broader sides displays four pairs of animals, a pair of felines above, succeeded by a pair of *k'uei* dragons with flask-shaped horns, and then by two pairs of animals of somewhat elephantine character with wide comma-shaped ears. The sides of the cover present similar *t'ao-t'ieh* designs when seen from above. The surfaces are divided into sections by the usual vertical serrated flanges. Inside the cover just under the knob is a long and narrow cicada, and inside both vessel and cover a device of a bird supporting on its head a *ko* dagger-axe.

This vessel came from An-yang. Another almost identically similar in shape and decoration but twice as high was excavated from a Shang Yin Dynasty tomb there by Academia Sinica and was described and illustrated by Mr. H. J. Timperley in *The Illustrated London News* of 4th April 1936.

The device of the bird with *ko* occurs also on a magnificent *yu* in the Freer Gallery. It is described in the illustrated catalogue of that collection where the similarity of the pictogram to that on the Stockholm *fang i* is pointed out.[1] The cicada inside the cover a rather unusual feature occurs inside the cover of the great wine vessel *ku*, in the Chicago Art Institute.[2]

[1] *Description and Illustration Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes acquired during the administration of John Ellerton Lodge.* Washington. 1946. Pl. XVI and p. 37.

[2] C. F. Kelley and Ch'en Ming-chia, *Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection.* Chicago. 1946. Pl. XI.

Candra and Caṇḍa

By H. W. BAILEY

In a brief article entitled *Kaṇiṣka* in the Journal for 1942 pp. 14–28 was published for the first time a Central Asian text touching Kaṇiṣka a repetition of the well-known story of Kaṇiṣka's stūpa. The fragmentary text began with three lines in the Buddhist Sanskrit of Khotan. These lines were then translated and the story continued in Khotanese. In the text the epithet of Kaṇiṣka was pointed out in the form *cadra* that is a Khotanese spelling of Indian *candra*. The epithet could be recognized as the equivalent of the epithet **tsan d'an* (later *tsan t'an*) in Chinese references to Kaṇiṣka and implied as it seems also in the Tibetan play upon the word *Za-ha* moon. The Khotanese and Buddhist Sanskrit *cadra* (for *candra*) seemed to decide the problem in favour of *candra* moon.

But the evidence is not after all so conclusive. It has since been noticed that in Khotanese two different Indian words are spelled *cuṃdra* and *cadra*. Both these forms occur in the Sudhana avadāna of which a metrical version exists in Khotanese in three manuscripts (Ch 00266, P 3025, P 4089 a, P 2957; from this I recently excerpted a passage in BSOAS 12, 423 ff.). The first passage of interest here is Manoharā's reference to father and mother in Kinnara-dvīpa.

Ch 00266 146	*cuṃda rura mvaṃai pye ttīṣä mäna*
P 4089 1.	*cuṃda rura mvaṃ pya skarāṣa mäna*
P 2957 15	*cuṃdrä rura mvaṃai pye skarṣa mäṣä*

Translated this means: There my father is fierce and mother violent. In comment I should add that beside *cuṃdra* corresponding to *caṇḍa* Sanskrit Pali and Prakrit *caṇḍa* fierce *ttīṣa* from Old Iranian **taiṣaka* occurs in Ch 00266.190 as an epithet of *daṃa* wild beasts and *skarṣa* violent fierce is used of the ocean in the Jātaka-stava 93 r 2; to it belong the modern Wakhi *skurf* rough (G. Morgenstierne *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 4"4) and the Christian Sogdian *sqrβ* (*Sogdische Texte* II 38, 94). The passage of the Divyāvadāna 480 1 differs.

The second passage is the description of King Mahendrasena –

Ch 00266.66 *candra canda sira ahaṃ e⟨di⟩ṃ śvaṇḍa pyaṇḍa-cakī yaṃṇa*

P 2025.113 *caṇḍa canda cirai ahaṃ ediṃ śvaṇḍa pyaṇḍa-cākī yaṃṇa*

(R 2957 differs.)

Here the Divyāvadāna reads *caṇḍo rabhasaḥ kharaśo 'dharmeṇa* 'fierce, violent, harsh, with injustice'. The Khotanese means 'fierce, unbelieving, hostile, violent, unjust, savage, perverse, wrathful'.

The spelling *caṇḍa-* is found also in Jātaka-stava 32 r 3 *caṇḍa ysa* 'fierce king' and in E 25.401 *caṇḍā nuṣṭhuvā* 'fierce' (bandidya).

In Buddhist Sanskrit, with its complex history, there was variation in the treatment of *-ndr-*, *-ṇḍ-*, and *-ṇḍr-*. Spellings could therefore be interchanged. Elsewhere we find in Pali and the literary Prakrits *canda-* 'moon' beside *caṇḍa-* 'fierce', where in Sindhi occurs *candiru* 'moon' beside *caṇḍiro* 'angry'; in Pahāi *cāṇḍ* 'bitter' stands beside *cāṇḍ* 'snake'. In the Kalāśa *āṇḍruk*, *kāṇḍruk* 'egg' we have the only case of *ṇḍr* in the word corresponding to Old Indian *āṇḍa-* 'egg'. For the variation *-ṇḍ-* and *-ndr-* note the name in Buddhist Sanskrit *Puṇḍravardhana* beside *Puṇḍravardhana* (see E. Lamotte, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*), p. 169).

The Khotanese evidence cannot therefore decide the question 'Candra or Caṇḍa?' It will also be necessary to keep in mind that the Buddhist *candra* (or *caṇḍa*) may itself be an inaccurate interpretation of an epithet no longer understood.

I take this opportunity to add a few remarks to the article '*Kaṇaṣka*'. The dates in line 5, p. 14, should be 1937 and 1938. I have already pointed out in *JRAS.*, 1942.250, that in the passage from Ch ii 004 the word *kaṇaṣka* means 'little finger', for which cognates occur elsewhere (see now *Asica*, p. 22, in the *Philological Society's Transactions*, 1945).

Two other allusions to Kaṇiṣka in Central Asia need to be noted. The form *Kaṇaṣke* occurs in the languages of Agni and of Kuci (E. Sieg and W. Siegling, *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 57, and *Tocharische Sprachreste* 49 a 4, 49 b 5). In Sogdian there is a reference to Kaniṣka and his stūpa in the Paris text 8.29 (ed. E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*):—

nm'ćyw βr'n 'ωyn 'knšk 'st'ωp βry'r pyn 'I bring obeisance to the majesty (*farn*) of Kaniṣka's stūpa and vihāra'.

In the *Mahāvyutpatti* (ed. Sakaki 3655) the Sanskrit *Kaniṣkaḥ* is rendered by *Ka-ni-ka*, which is confirmed by the Tibetan-Sanskrit Lexicon, edited by J. Bacot, where l a 1, *Ka-ni-kaḥi rgyal-po*, translates *Kaniṣka-rājaḥ* with Tibetan dental n and s. The *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain* (ed. J. Hackin), p. 20, has *rgyal-po Ka-ne-ka-re-da* in a list of royal names for 'king Kaniṣka-rāja'.

In connection with Aśoganga placing (*dīśanmai*) a ball of clay, reference should be made to the verse of the Divyāvadāna, p. 467, which is found in a Central Asian manuscript from Qizil published by H. Lüders in his *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Chotscho*, p. 19, on folio F r 8 : –

śatam sahasrāṇi suvarṇa-piṇḍā jāmbunadā nāsya samā bhavanti
yo buddha-caityeṣu prasanna-citta āropayen mṛttika-piṇḍam ekam

(the MS. irregularities have been here replaced), that is, 'a hundred thousand lumps of Jámbunada gold are not equal to his (possession) who with believing mind places one lump of clay upon the shrines of the Buddha(s).'

This year I received a microfilm of the manuscript containing the Kaniṣka story and have been able to verify and confirm the uncertain readings noted on p. 17. Only the ī in l. 188 and *prr* in l. 189 where the microfilm is unclear remain unconfirmed.

A Forgery in al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt*?

By W. MONTGOMERY WATT

THE importance of the *Mishkāt al-Anwār* for a full understanding of the thought of al-Ghazālī was long ago recognised by Goldziher. He impressed this on W. H. T. Gairdner, when, in 1911, he was guiding him into the higher reaches of Islamic studies; and in due course Gairdner produced an article on *Al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār and the Ghazālī-Problem*[1] and a Translation of the opuscule accompanied by a thought-provoking Introduction.[2] On the whole the problems there raised have not received from subsequent writers the attention which Gairdner's discussion of them merits and their own importance warrants.

Most of the problems formulated by Gairdner are connected with the last section of the *Mishkāt*, the detailed interpretation of the Tradition about the Seventy (or Seventy Thousand) Veils (which for convenience I shall call the "Veils-section"). The heart of the difficulties is in the apparent contradiction between many statements in the Veils-section and al-Ghazālī's general position.

It is the purpose of this article to argue that the contradiction amounts to incompatibility and is not apparent but real, and that therefore the Veils-section is not the work of al-Ghazālī but a forgery either completing a work dealing only with the Light-verse or else substituted for the genuine Ghazalian interpretation of the Veils-tradition.

1. *The non-Ghazalian character of the Veils-section*

The contrast between the Veils-section and al-Ghazālī's thought in general, and even the rest of the *Mishkāt*, is striking, and thrust itself upon Gairdner as he wrestled with the difficulties he had raised. "The doctrine of *mukhālafah*—that the divine essence and characteristics wholly and entirely 'differ from' the human—appears to be asserted, as this treatise's *last* word, in its most extreme and intransigent form. . . . Nevertheless the *Mishkāt*

[1] *Der Islam*, v (1914), 121–153.

[2] London, 1924 (Asiatic Society Monographs, XIX). References to the *Mishkāt* are to the Cairo edition of 1322 (whose pages are given in the translation in square brackets), followed by the pages of the translation in round brackets. I have generally used Gairdner's translation without alteration.

itself seems to be one long attempt to modify or even negate this its own bankrupt conclusion."[1] These words suggest a line of approach to the question of the authenticity of the Veils-section. It is not enough to show that it is incompatible with the author's views as expounded in other of his later works, for that would leave open the possibility that his views had undergone a further development in the last few years of his life or that in the *Mishkāt* he had been more ready to communicate his inmost beliefs. If, however, it can be shown conclusively that the Veils-section is incompatible with the rest of the *Mishkāt*, then the argument for its spurious character is a strong one. The following are the salient features of the contrast as I see it.

(a) The doctrine of the attributes in the Veils-section is opposed to that found elsewhere.

The first group of those veiled by pure light "have searched out and understood the true meaning of the divine attributes, and have grasped that when the divine attributes are named Speech, Will, Power, Knowledge, and the rest, it is not according to our human mode of nomenclature; and this has led them to avoid denoting Him by these attributes altogether, and to denote Him simply by a reference (*bi 'l-idāfah*) to His creation (*makhlūqāt*)".[2]

At first sight this might seem to refer to those of the orthodox theologians, like some of the Ash'ariyah, who so carefully stated their *via media* between *tashbīh* and *ta'ṭīl* that they avoided all suspicion of *tashbīh* or anthropomorphism. Closer examination, however, makes clear that this cannot be so. Gairdner, who is inclined to place some orthodox theologians here, is nevertheless constrained to admit that the latter half of the above quotation together with the following lines "shows that al-Ghazālī has rather in mind those who have steered as clear as possible from *kalām*-theology in every shape and form, and have contented themselves with asserting the divine creatorhood and providence".[3] The point could be put even more forcibly. None of the orthodox theologians, including the most subtle exponents of *bi-lā kayf*, could be said to "avoid denoting Him by these attributes altogether", for they all spoke freely of God's speech, will, etc.

[1] Introduction, p. 28. Wensinck is also aware of the contrast between the Veils-section and al-Ghazālī's usual doctrine (*La Pensée de Ghazzali*, p. 13).
[2] *Mishkāt*, 54 (98).
[3] *Der Islam*, v, 128.

To find people to whom this language applies we must turn to the "theistic philosophers", the school of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. These men acknowledged such attributes as those mentioned. A chapter of Ibn Sīnā's *Najāh* is entitled "Chapter on the affirmation of the unity of the First on the ground that His knowledge does not differ from His power, His will and His life in denotation, but that that is all one and the essence of the One Reality is not divided because of any of these attributes".[1] But this discussion of the attributes was not an integral part of their philosophical system; it was a concession to Muslim orthodoxy, to keep the cleavage from being too obvious. Moreover in their treatment of the question they used the word *iḍāfah* in much the same way as it is used in the passage quoted above. Al-Ghazālī, in his objective account of the views of these philosophers in *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah*, says that they admitted an attribute like *jawwād*, generous, since this goes back to the *iḍāfah* or relation of the essence (*dhāt*—*sc.* of God) to an act which proceeds from it, for they held that a multiplicity of *iḍāfāt* of this sort does not involve multiplicity in the essence, since a change of *iḍāfāt* does not involve change of the essence.[2]

It follows from what has been said that the orthodox theologians must be found among the previous groups, and especially in the closing sections of "those veiled by mixed light and darkness", of whom it is said that "they fell back on what was essentially (*min hayth al-ma'nā*) anthropomorphism, though they repudiated it formally (*bi 'l-lafẓ*)".[3] This is exactly what we should expect from a writer connected with the school of Ibn Sīnā, for it was the normal thing for various philosophically-minded groups to accuse the Ash'arīyah of falling into *tashbīh*.[4]

Closely connected with the doctrine of the attributes held by the "theistic" or Neoplatonist philosophers is their concern to avoid any assertion of plurality in God. This is prominent in the description of the second class of those veiled by pure light, and is implicit in the description of the third class and in that of "those who attain". To the Neoplatonists the ascription of attributes to God appeared to involve a denial of His unity, whereas orthodox

[1] Ed. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ṣabrī 'l-Kurdī, Cairo, 1357/1938, p. 249.

[2] Ed. al-Kurdī, Cairo, n.d., part ii, ch. 3, "On the Attributes of God," fourth type, p. 152. Cf. *Najāh*, p. 251.

[3] *Mishkāt*, 53 (94).

[4] Cf. Strothmann, art. "Tashbīh" in *EI*.

Islam was concerned, not with the internal unity of God, but with the avoidance of ascribing "partners" to Him.

In respect of these points, then, the Veils-section is definitely Neoplatonic in its outlook. The rest of the *Mishkāt*, on the other hand, is, as definitely, not Neoplatonic. There al-Ghazālī makes no attempt to "avoid denoting God by these attributes altogether", for he not merely quotes with approval the Tradition according to which the Prophet said, "I have become His hearing whereby He heareth, His vision whereby He seeth, His tongue wherewith He speaketh," but even makes use of the conceptions of the throne and saddle, on which, according to the Qur'ān, God sits.[1]

That these are no mere chance remarks or concessions to ordinary usage (why should one make such concessions in a work for initiates?), but are in consonance with al-Ghazālī's whole trend of thought in the *Mishkāt*, is shown by the discussion of symbolism in Part II, especially pp. 34–8 (75–80). Al-Ghazālī there distinguishes between the external or superficial meaning of words and their internal or symbolic meaning, and insists that it is erroneous to confine oneself either to the symbolic meaning or to the superficial meaning. He ascribes these mistaken views to the Bāṭinīyah and the Ḥashwīyah respectively, and conceives of orthodoxy and truth as the maintenance of a balance between them. Admittedly he is not interested here in the application of this principle to the doctrine of the attributes, although, if not identical with the principle underlying that doctrine, it is at least closely allied to it; but he does in fact mention several of the attributes of God in the course of his explanation of the phrase that Adam was created "in the image of the Merciful".[2] These include both some of the more philosophical attributes and also some of the more obviously anthropomorphic—both God's mercy, kingship, and lordship, and His handwriting and His hand.

It is, I venture to affirm, inconceivable that any thinker with a grasp of his subject could have designed a book to include both this treatment of the "image of the Merciful" and of symbolism in general and the passages about the attributes in the Veils-section.

(The use of the phrase "the face of God" in the Veils-section[3] might appear to weaken the above argument, but does not really do so, since it is merely a quotation from the Tradition which is

[1] *Mishkāt*, 36 (83); 7 (48). [2] *Mishkāt*, 34 (76). [3] Ibid., 56 (97).

being interpreted. The presumed forger who has chosen the interpretation of this Tradition as a means of putting his goods into the hands of the customers he cannot gain by lawful means is bound to mention this phrase from his text when he is trying to explain it.)

(*b*) *There is no mention of prophethood or the prophetic spirit in the Veils-section, although elsewhere these have a central place in the thought of al-Ghazālī.*

Towards the end of the Veils-section there is a reference to Abraham and Muḥammad, and it is suggested that they are examples of the two different methods by which the mystic goal is reached. There is a passing remark near the beginning of the section that only "the prophetic power" (*qūwah nabawīyah*) can determine the exact number of veils, and two Traditions are quoted which are ascribed to "the Prophet". Apart from this there is no mention in the Veils-section of the prophetic office or faculty, and the conception plays no part whatsoever in the elaborate "philosophy of religion" which constitutes most of the section.

This is in striking contrast to the rest of the *Mishkāt* and indeed to other of al-Ghazālī's later works, such as *Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, where *nubūwah* (which might almost be translated "revelation") and *al-rūḥ al-nabawī* have a central place. He maintains that "the greatest of philosophies (*a'ẓam al-ḥikmah*) is the word of God in general and the Qur'ān in particular",[1] and gives the Qur'ān a high place in his light-symbolism. The man through whom the revelation comes, however, is not a mere instrument, but has himself reached the highest point of religious development; "the Prophets, when their ascents reached unto the World of the Realm Celestial, attained the uttermost goal, and from thence looked down upon a totality of the World Invisible."[2] The prophets may therefore be regarded as Lamps which bring illumination to the rest of men.[3] Finally, in his account of the five faculties or spirits of man and in his exposition of the Light-verse,[4] the culmination is the transcendent (*qudsī*) prophetic spirit which is here said to be symbolized by the oil that is "well-nigh luminous though fire touched it not".

Not merely does al-Ghazālī thus give a high place to the prophet

[1] Ibid., 12 (52).
[2] Ibid., 13 (54).
[3] Ibid., 14 (55); cf. 22 (63).
[4] Ibid., 39 (81) ff.; 43 (84) ff.

and to revealed truth, but he is intensely interested in the attitude of men towards revealed truth, and he makes this attitude the basis of a classification of the different types of men. The chief passage will perhaps be clearer if we keep to the Arabic terms: "'*ilm* is above *īmān*, and *dhawq* above *'ilm*; *dhawq* is *wijdān*, *'ilm* is *qiyās*, and *īmān* is the simple acceptance by *taqlīd* and the approval of the men of *wijdān* or the men of *'irfān*."[1] That is to say, there are three categories of men in respect of religion. The lowest class, in which the great majority of people are to be found, is distinguished by *īmān*, faith or belief in revealed truth, and this faith consists in accepting such truth on the authority of another person or persons belonging to one or other of the two other groups; this *taqlīd* or following of authority is sometimes naïve and unconscious (as in the case of the child adopting the religious beliefs of his parents and teachers without question), and sometimes deliberate and conscious, in which case there is a definite acknowledgment or approval of the authority of the person followed. The second group is distinguished by *'ilm*; that is, they are able to give rational grounds for their acceptance of revealed truth, showing both how certain matters involved in revelation, such as the existence of God, can be demonstrated by reason independently of revelation, and how the *mu'jizāt* or miracles of the prophets afford rational grounds for accepting what is revealed through them as true.

Above these two groups is a third consisting of those who not merely are able to give a rational defence of revealed truth but have "seen" or rather "tasted" these matters for themselves: for the characteristic of this group is *dhawq*, which is literally "taste" though it may be translated "mystic experience", and which involves or is a form of *wijdān* or "feeling".

Now all these groups hold the *same* dogmas; they differ only in what may be called their "attitude" towards them. In the Veils-section, on the other hand, the classification of the different religious groups is based on the fact that they hold *different* dogmas or beliefs and the question of their "attitude", whether it is *īmān*, *'ilm*, or *dhawq*, does not enter in. The contrast is considerable.

It is conceivable, of course, that the same man might employ different religious classifications at different times and for different purposes: but that is not credible in this particular case. The

[1] Ibid., 62.

conceptions underlying the classification according to *īmān*, *'ilm*, and *dhawq* are central in the thought of al-Ghazālī, as a perusal of *Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl* will readily show. For such a man to concern himself with the distinctions of the Veils-section would be to descend to a lower plane, for the groups discussed there are apparently at the level of either of *īmān* or *'ilm*, although no attempt is made to distinguish them on these lines. Moreover, the two systems of classification ought to intersect at the top, at least, for the group of "those who attain" in the Veils-section are presumably characterized by *dhawq*; yet in the account given of them there is no mention of *dhawq* apart from an incidental remark to the effect that to these adepts the meaning of God's word, "All perisheth save His countenance," becomes a *dhawq*[1]; and instead the impression is given that their chief peculiarity is the holding of a subtle metaphysical theory, about the distinction between God and the Obeyed-One (*Muṭā'*).

While it is theoretically possible, then, that one man may employ different systems of classification, yet in this case the contrast between the two systems is of such a kind that it is inconceivable that the mind which produced *Al-Munqidh* and the main part of the *Mishkāt* could subsequently have produced the Veils-section. The subject-matter of the latter demands some reference to the earlier conceptions, at least in order to show how the two systems of classification are related to one another.

(*c*) *While the rest of the* Mishkāt *is a closely argued whole, the Veils-section has no preparation made for it in the previous part.*

Apart from the Veils-section the *Mishkāt* shows a closely-knit structure. From the very beginning of the treatise where he considers the properties of physical light he is working up to his climax, the interpretation of the Niche, Lamp, Glass, Tree and Oil; and while one or two passages might be regarded as digressions, yet on the whole it is true that the actual interpretation of the light-verse cannot be properly understood without all the previous discussion. Thus there is careful preparation for the final interpretation.

The Veils-section, on the other hand, is not prepared for at all. It opens abruptly in a manner that raises many questions: "I explain it thus. God is in, by, and for himself glorious. A veil

[1] Ibid., 56 (97).

is necessarily related to those from whom the glorious object is veiled. Now these among men are of three kinds, according as their veils are pure darkness, mixed darkness and light, or pure light." [1] Thus we are plunged right into the middle of an interpretation without any previous explanation of the properties of veils; yet surely there ought to be some explanation of how light can be a veil, even if it is held that veils of darkness require no explanation.

It is true that the veiling of light is occasionally mentioned in the earlier part of the work. Thus al-Ghazālī says that error is unveiled when intelligence is separated from the deceptions of imagination; but this does not contribute anything to the Veils-section since he also says that this separation is only completed after death.[2] There is also a remark, to which we must later return, to the effect that there is no veil between the intelligence and the realities of things apart from one which it assumes of its own accord, whose relation to the intelligence is analogous to that of the eyelid to the eye.[3] That also is no preparation for the Veils-section, and the indication that this is to be more fully explained in the "third chapter of the work" is distinctly mystifying.

What appears to be an explanation of "veils of light" is found in a passage whose closing sentence is: "then glory to Him who hides Himself from His own creation by His utter manifestness, and is veiled from their gaze through the very effulgence of His own light!" [4] The argument leading up to this is based on the fact that we generally and most readily apprehend things through their contraries, e.g. we are aware of the sun because its light is sometimes veiled; now God's light cannot be veiled by anything similar to the sun's setting, but is present with and in all our apprehensions (just as physical light is present in all our perception of visual objects); and therefore since the divine light is invariable and undifferentiated, it is not to be apprehended through the contrast with its opposite and is consequently overlooked by the heedless "on whose faces is the veil". In this sense the effulgence of the divine light is a veil of light.

This may very well have been al-Ghazālī's explanation of the veils of light, but it does not prepare in the slightest for the explanation of the Veils-Tradition as found in existing texts of the *Mishkāt*. In the account of "those veiled by mixed darkness and light"

[1] Ibid., 67 (88). [2] Ibid., 10 (51). [3] Ibid., 7 (48). [4] Ibid., 26 (67 f.).

there is mention of several divine lights, such as the light of majesty and beauty, the light of dominion and glory; but these lights are said to be combined with the darkness either of the senses or of the imagination or of false syllogisms of the intelligence; this combination of light and darkness is exemplified by the idolater who has some appreciation of the Divine majesty and beauty but regards these as inherent in objects of sense such as precious metals and stones. It is apparently its combination with darkness that causes light to be a veil; how pure light can be a veil is not explained at all.

It is not necessary to discuss whether the earlier theory that the undifferentiated character of the Divine light makes it difficult to see can be consistently held by one who wrote the Veils-section. The point to be noticed at the moment is that the earlier passage is not a preparation for the later one, so that nothing is left in the earlier part of the book which leads up to and prepares for the interpretation of the Veils Tradition. It is also curious, to say the least, that a man who had an explanation of how light could act as a veil should not mention it at all when explaining the phrase "veils of light".[1]

In three notable points, then, there is a strong contrast between the Veils-section and the rest of the *Mishkât*. The contrast is one of both matter and form. Other points could be added, such as the attitude to sense, but they would not be so immediately striking, and those already adduced are sufficient to establish the existence

[1] There is an interesting reference to the Seventy Veils at the end of Part III of the *Ihyâ'* (*K. dhamm al-ghurûr*, third *asnâf*, last *firqah*, ed. Cairo, 1316, p. 330). The point made there is that as each veil is removed before a man he imagines that he has reached the final state, the "presence". The first veil is the *nafs* or *sirr al-qalb*, because in the heart are manifested or revealed *haqîqat al-Ḥaqq kulli-hi* and *ṣûrat al-kull*; thereupon Divine light shines in it, and the man may be misled into extravagant ideas and even into extravagant words, such as *Ana 'l-Ḥaqq*. This passage follows a different line of thought from both those just considered, but is not incompatible with either. It is perhaps closest to the treatment found in the Veils-section, but differs from that in that the deception is due to the failure to realise that a brighter light lies beyond, whereas in the Veils-section there is a combining of the light apprehended with the darkness of sense, etc. Perhaps the most significant point about the passage in the *Ihyâ'* with regard to the present discussion is that there is no mention of "veils of darkness" but only of "veils of light". I have not come across the "veils of darkness" anywhere in the authentic works of al-Ghazâlî, whereas he frequently refers to the "seventy veils of light", *cf. Ihyâ'*, i, 87; ii, 220 (ed. 1316); or i, 90; ii, 247 (ed. 1346).

of a strong contrast. It now remains to consider what deductions may be drawn from this fact.

2. *The Alleged Neoplatonism of al-Ghazālī*

Less than seventy years after the death of al-Ghazālī the Neoplatonic [1] character of the Veils-section was noticed by Ibn Rushd, and in particular the doctrine that the mover of the first heaven is not God but a being emanating from Him. Ibn Rushd, however, as a bitter opponent of al-Ghazālī, drew the unfavourable conclusion that al-Ghazālī was inconsistent, since here he formally professed belief in the theological doctrines of the Neoplatonists, whereas in other places he had criticized them.[2]

This is a conclusion which the impartial student will not readily accept until he has proved that no other hypothesis has any great degree of probability. The alternative which leaps to mind is that in the course of the years al-Ghazālī's attitude may have changed from hostility towards Neoplatonism to acceptance of it. His great work in criticism of the Neoplatonists, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*, was written before the decisive change in his life when he left Baghdād in order to live the life of an ascetic and mystic. His studies in the mystical writers may have made him much more favourable towards the Neoplatonists and he may eventually have adopted some or all of their doctrines.

The precise nature of the point at issue should be carefully noted. It is not a question of whether al-Ghazālī was *influenced* by the Neoplatonists; that there was some influence may be readily granted, although the character and extent of the influence requires to be studied more carefully than has hitherto been done. It is a question of whether, in the words of Ibn Rushd, there was any "formal or explicit profession of belief in the theological doctrines" [3] which were regarded as peculiar to the Neoplatonists, for, following that distinguished philosopher, we cannot but regard some of the doctrines of the Veils-section as explicitly Neoplatonic. Can we then find any other explicitly Neoplatonic doctrines elsewhere in the later writings of al-Ghazālī ?

[1] I use "Neoplatonic" as a convenient way of referring to the school of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā.

[2] *Al-Kashf 'an Manāhij al-Adillah*, ed. Müller, p. 71, ed. Cairo, p. 59 (I quote from Guidi-Bauer's article, p. 132).

[3] The Arabic is: *tasrīḥ mā-ḥu bi-"l-qaṭʿ muṣarriḥūn bi-l-ishrāq al-Ishrāqiyyūn fī 'l-ʿulūm al-ilāhiyyah* (loc. cit.).

It might seem that the theory of lights propounded in the earlier part of the *Mishkāt* was such a doctrine, especially as al-Ghazālī frequently uses *fāḍa*, one of the regular words used for "emanate". Gairdner, however, in the article already mentioned, has shown conclusively that, despite his language, al-Ghazālī maintains a doctrine of creation and not of emanation in the technical sense.[1] Thus the theory of lights is not an instance of explicit profession of a Neoplatonic doctrine, even if it shows some Platonic or Neoplatonic influence.

In certain passages of the *Mishkāt* al-Ghazālī shows interest in unity and in the movement from plurality to unity, and this might be regarded as Neoplatonic. Thus he writes :—

> "This kingdom of the One-and-Oniiness (*fardānīyah*) is the ultimate point of mortals' ascent : there is no ascending stage beyond it ; for 'ascending' involves plurality, being a sort of relation involving two terms, that *from* which the ascent is made and that *to* which it is made. But when plurality has been eliminated, Unity is established, relation is effaced, all indication from 'here' to 'there' falls away, and there remains neither height nor depth, nor anyone to fare up or down. The upward Progress, the Ascent of the soul, then becomes impossible, for there is no height beyond the Highest, no plurality alongside of the One, and, now that plurality has terminated, no Ascent for the soul." [2]

This passage is to be interpreted in accordance with an earlier one in the *Mishkāt*,[3] where, describing the highest stage of the Ascent as experienced by some mystics, he says :—

> "When this state prevails it is called in relation to him who experiences it, Extinction, nay, Extinction of Extinction, for the soul has become extinct to itself, extinct to its own extinction ; for it becomes unconscious of itself and unconscious of its own unconsciousness, since, were it conscious of its own unconsciousness, it would be conscious of itself. In relation to the man immersed in this state, the state is called, in the language of metaphor, 'Identity' (*ittiḥād*) ; in the language of reality, 'affirmation of unity' (*tawḥīd*)."

All this fits in with al-Ghazālī's account in the *Iḥyā'* of the four stages of *tawḥīd*. The first is that of those who pronounce the formula, "There is no god but God," without believing in it ; the

[1] *Der Islam*, v, 137–145.

[2] *Mishkāt*, 23 (64) ; I have made some alterations in the translation of the last part of the first sentence.

[3] Ibid., 20 (61) ; I have substituted "affirmation of unity" as a translation of *tawḥīd* for Gairdner's "unification", following Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, ii, 234.

second that of those who believe, whether by *taqlīd* or by *'ilm*; at the third stage the man apprehends by direct mystical experience (*kashf*) the truths apprehended by *taqlīd* or *'ilm* at the second stage, and sees for himself how all things despite their multiplicity proceed from the One; finally there is the stage "which Sufism calls extinction in the *tawḥīd*" when a man sees in all existence only one thing.[1]

In interpreting these passages it has to be remembered that *tawḥīd* does not mean "unity", though we often conveniently translate it so, as, for example, when we render the name of the Mu'tazilah for themselves, *Ahl al-Tawḥīd wa 'l-'Adl*, as "the party of unity and justice". The *muwaḥḥid* is the man who "makes God one" or "declares God one" either by repeating the first part of the confession of faith or in some similar sense; and *tawḥīd* is thus the declaration or assertion of God's unity (though no English phrase is adequate to all four of the stages enumerated). In the highest of the four stages the mystic makes or declares God one in the sense that he is aware of nothing but God, not even of himself. The word *fardānīyah*, isolation or solitariness, is another description of this experience; as Nallino puts it, it "is a particular form of the mode in which God is conceived by a person in a mystic state, that is, it is an abstract conception of God without any relation to the world, as if that did not exist".[2]

The unity associated with the conception of *tawḥīd* is thus quite different from that with which the Veils-section is concerned. The latter bases its assertions on the principle that, since God is absolutely One, He cannot stand in direct relation to more than one entity. To be directly related to a multiplicity of things would involve some plurality in His nature. On the other hand, this principle is not to be found in the *tawḥīd*-passages. The third stage in the *Iḥyā'* is to apprehend all things as proceeding from God; and the fourth stage is not the realization that all things proceed only *indirectly* from God, but a subjective condition in which the mystic no longer notices either the things or their relation to God; there is no suggestion, however, that what was apprehended at the third stage, namely, that all things proceed from God, has ceased to be true. Thus the unity of the Veils-section implies that there is not a

[1] *Iḥyā'*, iv, K. al Tawḥīd . . . Bayān Ḥaqīqat al-Tawḥīd . . . (ed. Cairo, 1316, p. 239).

[2] *Encyclo.*, iv, 233 a.

plurality of relations in God; the unity of the *tawḥīd*-passages is quite compatible with, and normally seems to presuppose, a plurality of relations in God.

Thus al-Ghazālī's conception of the *tawḥīd* found in the highest type of mystical experience is not merely not explicitly Neoplatonic, but leads to the recognition of a further contrast between the Veils-section and the rest of the *Mishkāt*.

The conceptions of *al-'aql al-awwal* or *al-'aql al-kullī* and of *al-nafs al-kulliyah* which are found in some parts of the works of al-Ghazālī [1] need not long detain us here, however important they may be in a study of the influence of Greek philosophy on al-Ghazālī. The important point to notice is that al-Ghazālī does not criticise these in his *Tahāfut*; therefore, we may conclude, he did not regard them as incompatible with orthodox theology; his acceptance of these conceptions is therefore no indication that he had abandoned orthodox theology for Neoplatonism. I should be inclined to suggest that al-Ghazālī regarded these matters as neutral theologically, so that a good Muslim could quite well accept the views of the Greek philosophers on them,[2] in much the same way as a theologian to-day might accept Einstein's theory of relativity. Al-Ghazālī would be the more ready to accept the conception of *al-'aql al-awwal* in that he regarded as genuine a Tradition to the effect that "the first thing which God created was *al-'aql*".[3] Whatever the source of the conception may have been, the mention of "creating" shows that al-Ghazālī's employment of it was not Neoplatonic.

From this examination of alleged instances of Neoplatonism in al-Ghazālī's later writings I conclude that he did not make any explicit profession of belief in the theological doctrines of the Islamic Neoplatonists. In the Veils-section there is an explicit profession of this sort; and therefore the contrast between it and the rest of the *Mishkāt* remains.

The point is reinforced when it is remembered that in the *Munqidh* al-Ghazālī speaks with approval of his criticisms of the Neoplatonists in the *Tahāfut*. The *Munqidh* cannot be very different in date

[1] *Al-Risālah al-Ladunīyah*, chs. v, vi; cf. Dr. Margaret Smith's Introduction to her Translation, *JRAS.*, 1938, 179 ff.

[2] Cf. *Munqidh*, discussion of *ṭabī'iyāt* and *ilāhīyāt* in the section on the philosophical sciences, ed. Damascus, 1939/1358, pp. 95 f.

[3] *Mīzān al-'Amal*, ed. Cairo, 1342, p. 107.

from the *Mishkāt*, and its views are quite in harmony with those of the latter (apart from the Veils-section), although certain sides of his teaching are more fully developed in the *Mishkāt*. It follows from these facts that al-Ghazālī's conversion and retiral from Baghdād are not synonymous with an acceptance of Neoplatonism. The only hypothesis of this sort which could account for the facts as here stated would be that of a second conversion (from mysticism combined with orthodoxy to Neoplatonism) subsequent to the *Munqidh* and indeed to the main part of the *Mishkāt*! This need not be considered seriously; even if there were good grounds for holding it to have happened, the Veils-section might still be dismissed as irrelevant to a study of al-Ghazālī's thought in that it merely showed the wanderings of a mind approaching dissolution; so great is the contrast between the Veils-section and the rest of al-Ghazālī's later writings, and not least the main part of the *Mishkāt* itself

3. *Al-Ghazālī's Alleged Esotericism*

For those who want to maintain the authenticity of the Veils-section while admitting something of the contrast between it and other writings of al-Ghazālī, there remains one possible means of escape from the net of argument closing round them. They may put forward the plea that in the Veils-section we have al-Ghazālī's esoteric views, and it is not surprising that there should be some contrast between these and his exoteric views.

As proof that he believed in principle in distinguishing between esoteric and exoteric views a passage from *Mīzān al-'Amal* is commonly adduced[1] It will be convenient to commence our study of this alleged esotericism by looking closely at that passage. He is answering the criticism that part of what he says in the book agrees with the system (*madhhab*) of the Ṣūfīs and part with the system of the Ash'ariyah and others of the dogmatic theologians.

"One group (with whom apparently al-Ghazālī identifies himself) says that 'system' is a word common to three different stages or levels: (*a*) what a man 'supports' in boasting and in debate; (*b*) what he says privately when giving guidance or instruction: (*c*) what in his heart he believes on speculative questions as a result of his personal experience. Every fully developed man (*kāmil*) has three 'systems' in this sense.

"The first 'system' is the way of his parents and grandparents,

[1] Ibid., 162 ff.

the system of his teacher and the system of the people of the place where he grew up. . . .

"The second 'system' is the guidance or instruction adapted to those who come to him for knowledge or guidance. This is not something specific or fixed, but differs according to the inquirer; he discourses to each in a way he is capable of understanding. Suppose a Turkish or Indian pupil happened to come to him, or a country yokel, and he knew that, if he informed him that God's essence is not in a place, is neither within the world nor outside it, is neither in contact with the world nor separated from it, then he will immediately deny the existence of God and disbelieve in Him. In such a case he must maintain before his pupil that God is on the throne, that the worship and service of His creatures pleases and delights Him, so that He repays them and sends them into Paradise as an indemnity and reward. On the other hand, if a man is capable of having the plain truth spoken to him, he shows that to him. Thus the 'system' in this second sense is changing and variable; for each pupil it is according to his capacity to understand it.

"The third 'system' is what the man believes secretly between himself and God. None but God is acquainted with it. He speaks of it only to his fellow (*sharîk*) who has had a similar experience, or else to one who has reached a stage from which he can apprehend it and understand it. That will be the case when the inquirer is wise. He must not be one in whom an inherited creed, as an adherent and partisan of which he grew up, has taken firm root, or has, as it were, dyed his heart with a fast colour, so that he is like a piece of paper into which writing has sunk so deeply that it cannot be got rid of except by burning or tearing up the paper. This latter is a man whose temperament is corrupted and of whose salvation there is no hope; if anything contrary to what he has heard is said to him, it does not satisfy him; indeed he is anxious that he should not be satisfied with what is said to him and employs deceit in warding it off. Even if he were to pay the utmost attention and devote all his energies to understanding it, he would come to be in doubt about his understanding of it. How then when his aim is to ward it off, not to understand it? The method of dealing with such a man is to cease conversing with him and to leave him where he is. He is not the first blind man to perish through his own wanderings."

In the interpretation of this passage it is important to notice that the difference between the second "system" or "set of beliefs" and the third cannot be simply one of degree, but must be a difference of kind or quality. Within the second heading fall both the teaching given to the country yokels and that given to those whom we might call honours graduates, and there is a great difference between the two. The teaching which comes under the third head would appear to differ from this in some other way; it is not what is given to some group of people who are above the

honours graduates *in the same way* as the honours graduates are above the country yokels (*e.g.* university professors).

A careful study of al-Ghazālī's phrases will show that the third *madhhab* is what a man knows as a result of his mystical experience, whereas the second comprises what he knows intellectually. Thus the threefold division of *madhhab* corresponds to the triad of *taqlīd* (or *iman*), *'ilm* and *dhauq* which has already been mentioned. The first "system" (of which the description has been mostly omitted) is clearly connected with *taqlīd*; and that goes to support the interpretation of the second and third.

What al-Ghazālī is here saying is not really anything strange, but can easily be paralleled within our own experience. The Christian theologian of to-day does not give the same teaching to a confirmation class of country children as to an atheistic philosophy don who repents of his atheism and wants to be instructed with a view to baptism. On the other hand, there are possibly some things in his private devotional life—the intercourse of his soul with God—about which he speaks to no one. He may say something in general terms; to special persons who are able to appreciate it he may describe some of his deepest experiences; but he will not speak of the "dark night" and the "ligature" to persons who have no conception of the life of prayer and devotion. Communications of this sort presuppose a preparation on the part of the listener that is practical as distinct from intellectual: in other words he must be to some extent a *shaver* (*sharīk*) in the interior life.

I see no reason for thinking that al-Ghazālī should be taken as meaning anything more than this, provided the differences between his environment and ours are kept in mind. The Oriental does not generally speak freely about the subjective aspect of religious experiences in the way in which some Westerners do, so that considerably more reticence about the third *madhhab* would naturally be expected. Again, in the Christian West there is no hard and fast line between mystic and non mystic, for all our religion is shot through with mysticism; whereas in al-Ghazālī's world the mystics were a clearly defined group or groups on whom the main body of the orthodox looked with disfavour in view of the unbalanced statements they often made. Thus the number of people to whom al-Ghazālī could speak freely about matters connected with mysticism was comparatively restricted. Apart from this the passage in *Mīzān al-'Amal* might apply to a contemporary bishop.

Even if all I have contended for here is not admitted, yet there is nothing in the passage to suggest that al-Ghazālī held esoteric views which opposed or contradicted the views he publicly expressed. Still less does he mention the hiding of one's true views in order to avoid persecution. The example he gives, which might be regarded as involving opposition—the inapplicability of spatial categories to God as contrasted with His sitting on the throne—falls entirely under the second heading, and cannot prove that there was any opposition between the second and the third *madhhab*. Besides, if we may apply to this what al-Ghazālī says about the reality of the outward symbol in the *Mishkāt*,[1] then we have to say that he would have denied that the two sets of assertions were opposed to one another.

I conclude therefore that there is no good ground for thinking that in principle al-Ghazālī distinguished between esoteric and exoteric teaching in any way that could serve to explain the contrast between the Veils-section and other parts of his later works.

Finally, it should be noticed that, even if al-Ghazālī could be shown to approve of the principle of esotericism, this could not solve the problem as I have stated it. For the contrast that has to be explained is not merely one between the Veils-section and al-Ghazālī's later theology in general, but one between the Veils-section and the rest of the *Mishkāt*; and it does not help very much to hold that the Veils-section is esoteric and the rest of the book exoteric!

4. *Conclusion*

If the above investigations have not overlooked some crucial point, there is no avoiding the conclusion that the Veils-section of *Mishkāt al-Anwār* is a forgery. It has been argued that the contrast between that section and the rest of the book is glaring. The alleged traces of Neoplatonism in al-Ghazālī's thought avail nothing to soften that contrast appreciably; it remains too great to be explained as a contrast between esoteric and exoteric views in any way in which al-Ghazālī can be supposed to have accepted that distinction. The essence of the matter is that the Veils-section is explicitly "Neoplatonic" (in the special sense in which I have been using that term), and that nowhere else does al-Ghazālī either explicitly or implicitly disavow that criticism of the Neoplatonists

[1] 35–8 (77–80).

which is contained in his *Tahāfut*, even if in many ways he had come closer to them. That al-Ghazālī should have written the Veils-section is repugnant to all we know of the man.

A sentence near the beginning of the work I take to indicate that al-Ghazālī intended to write a third section dealing with the Veils-tradition. Speaking of the intelligence he says, "its only veil is one which it assumes of its own accord and for its own sake . . . but we shall explain this more fully in the third chapter of this work." [1] Apart from this there is nothing which absolutely implies a Veils-section apart from the statement of the Tradition at the beginning of the whole work along with the Throne-verse; and that of course could have been added by the forger. In the Arabic text I have used the "third chapter" as simply the Veils-section, though in Gairdner's translation "Part III" begins four pages earlier; but this does not affect the argument. Needless to say there is nothing to explain the veil assumed by the intelligence for its own sake. Al-Ghazālī had evidently thought much about the question of veils. It may be, however, that death overtook him before he was able to write this section of the book. The Neoplatonist forger, with a book before him asking to be completed, would then make good use of his opportunity.

The Veils-section was presumably either written specially, or else consists of old material specially touched up. There are two references to the previous part of the book: "the senses are darkness in relation to the World Spiritual, *as we have already shown*"; "to this we have made reference in the first chapter, where we set forth in what sense they named this state 'Identity'" [2] These do appear to refer to what has gone before, though they twist it towards Neoplatonism. In general the matter of the Veils-section is dull and second-rate compared with the rest of the book; and the style also is inferior.

The recognition that the Veils-section is spurious—if my arguments are accepted should embolden scholars to make more use of the rest of the *Mishkāt* in their study of the theology and metaphysics of al-Ghazālī. The work is of the highest importance, but the apparently insoluble problems set by the Veils-section have hitherto, it would seem, scared away students of al-Ghazālī from making full use of it.

[1] 7 (68). [2] 51 (92); 56 (97).

A Manuscript Chinese Version of the New Testament (British Museum, Sloane 3599)

By A. C. MOULE

(PLATES II–V)

TO those interested in the translation of the Bible into Chinese it is well known that there is a manuscript of part of the New Testament in Chinese among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum. But no exact description of this manuscript seems ever to have been published, and even its author's name was unknown till lately.

In Marshall Broomhall's *Robert Morrison*, 1924, p. 28, we read that William Moseley, a dissenting Minister in Northamptonshire, had in 1798 or 1799 "the unspeakable joy of finding in the British Museum a manuscript in Chinese labelled *Quatuor Evangelia Sinice*". With the help of Sir George Staunton it was found that the volume contained "a Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Acts, and all St Paul's Epistles". In 1805 this manuscript was copied out by Robert Morrison and a Chinese friend named Yong Sam-tak (*Robert Morrison*, p. 33).

Turning to the Bible Society Catalogue (T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of printed Editions of Holy Scripture*), vol. II, 1911, p. 182, we read, after a brief mention of the Sloane MS., that "Morrison's own copy of the MS. is in the library of the Morrison Education Society at Hongkong. A copy was made from it for E. C. Bridgman, and from that copy a transcript was obtained by J. Lees, who in turn allowed his Chinese assistant to make a duplicate for G. H. Bondfield . . . at Shanghai. A transcript made from this last copy was presented by G. H. Bondfield to the Bible House Library in 1904". In the course of ninety-nine years five transcripts seem thus to have been made, each one unfortunately copied from the one before rather than from the original. In the Bible House copy there are several variations from the original.

The manuscript, now marked Sloane 3599, is a folio volume bound in leather and measuring about 38 cm. by 24 cm., and it is lettered on the back: DIATESSERON(*sic*) EX EVANGELIIS, CUM ACTIS APOSTOLORUM ET B. PAULI EPISTOLIS. SINICE. | MUS. BRIT. BIBL.

SLOAN. | 3599 PLUT.XC.E., and on each side is stamped the Sloane shield encircled with the legend BIBLIOTHECA MANUSCRIPT. SLOANEIANA.

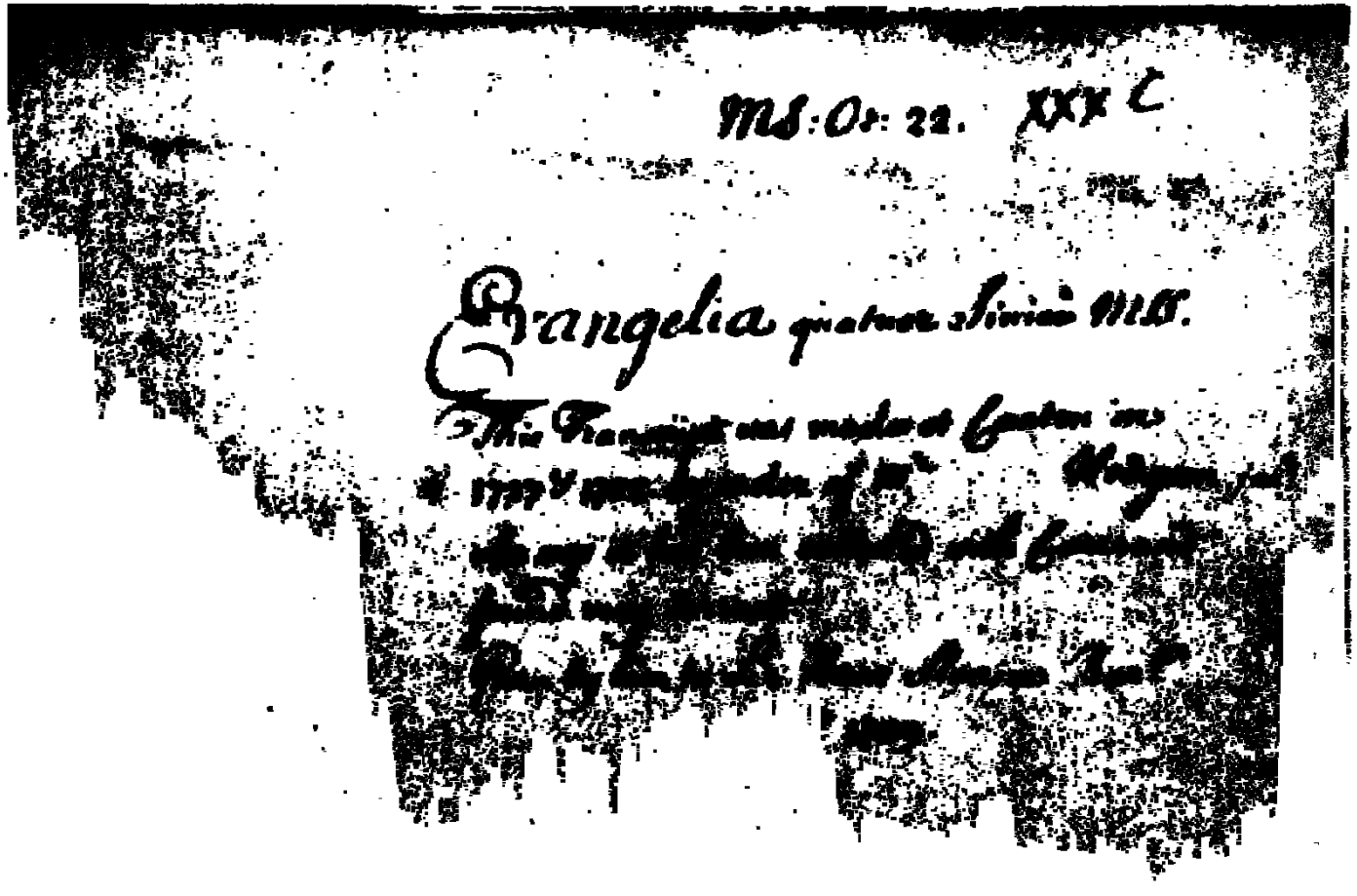
After four unnumbered flyleaves is a leaf of laid paper (watermark I V), now numbered 1, on which is written, MS: Or: 22. XXX C | Evangelia quatuor Sinicè MSS. | This Transcript was made at Canton in | 1737 & 1738. by order of Mr Hodgson, junr | who says it has been collated with Care, and | found very correct. | Given by him to Sir Hans Sloane Bart | in Septr 1739.

The manuscript itself occupies 377 leaves, numbered 2 to 378 (formerly 1 to 376), of which 2 to 109 are English laid paper (with IV or a fleur-de-lys), and 110 to 378 double Chinese paper of fairly good quality with smooth surface. There are six very widely spaced columns to a page, and generally 24 (sometimes 23 or 25) words to a full column. In the Acts and Epistles the chapters are numbered, as in the Vulgate, but not the verses. There are no headlines or marginal titles in Chinese or English and no foliation in Chinese. After the note on the flyleaf there are no English words except "page" twice.

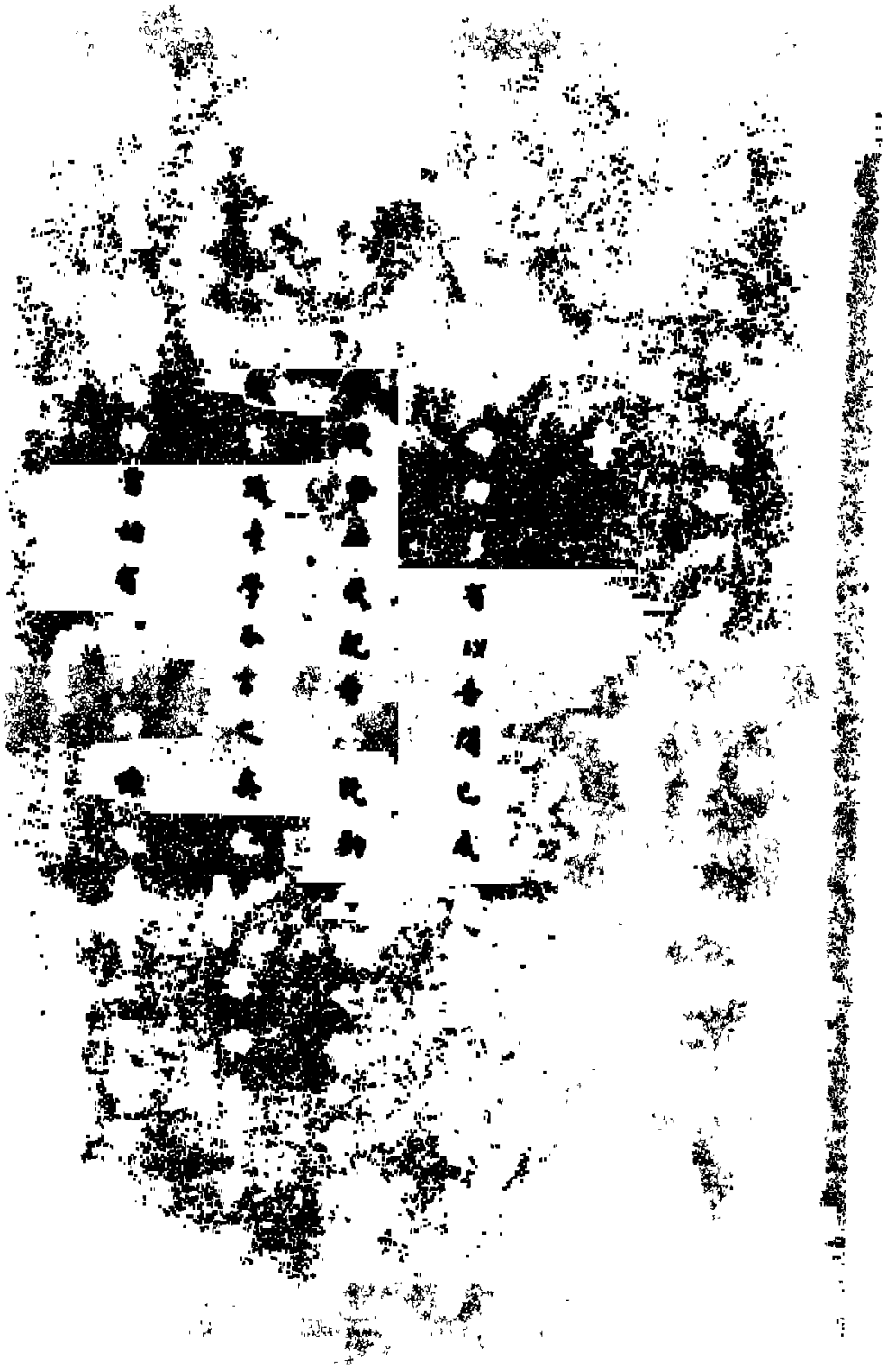
The contents are as follows:

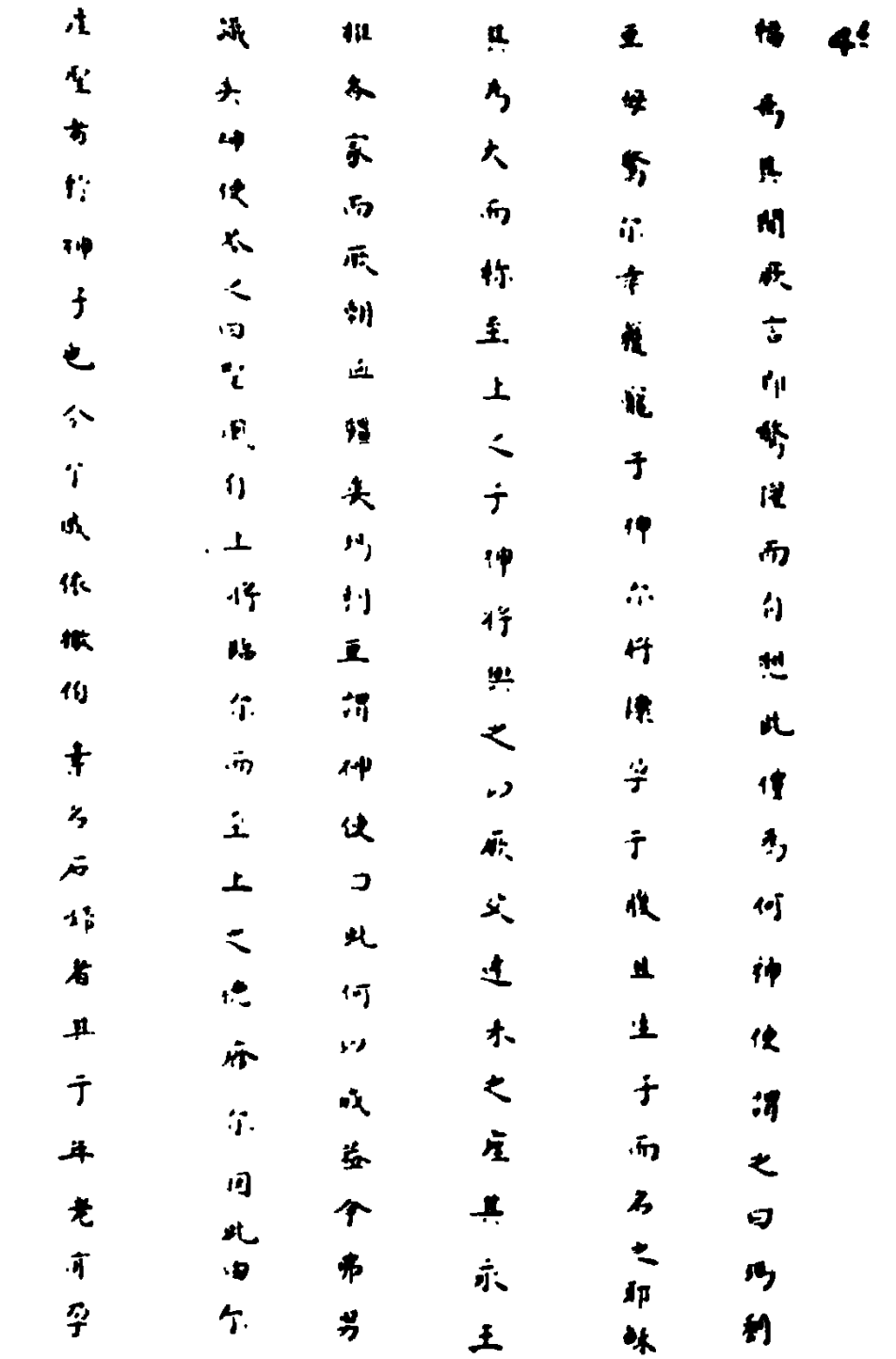
1. Diatessaron or Harmony of the Gospels, 28 chapters, fol. 2r°–155r° fol 2r°. 四史攷錄耶蘇基利斯督福音之會錄 (see Plate III.)
2. The Acts of the Apostles, 28 chapters, fol. 155v°–229v°: fol. 155v° 使徒行

 Note. 156 and 157 have been accidentally transposed in binding and are wrongly numbered. Fol. 155 was accidentally omitted from the numbering, so that 156 was wrongly numbered 155, and then bound after 157 (wrongly numbered 156).
3. The Epistle to the Romans, 16 chapters, fol. 230r°–258v°: fol. 230r° 額保祿寄使徒與羅馬會書
4. The first Epistle to the Corinthians, 16 chapters, fol. 259r°–289v°, 2 · fol. 259r° 額保祿與之林會第一章 (*sic*)
5. The second Epistle to the Corinthians, 13 chapters, fol. 289v°, 3 310r°: fol. 289v° 額保祿使徒與之林多會第二書
6. The Epistle to the Galatians, 6 chapters, fol. 310v°–321r°: fol. 310v° 額保祿與迦拉達會書
7. The Epistle to the Ephesians, 6 chapters, fol. 321v°–331v°: fol. 321v° (as above) 使徒與厄弗所會書

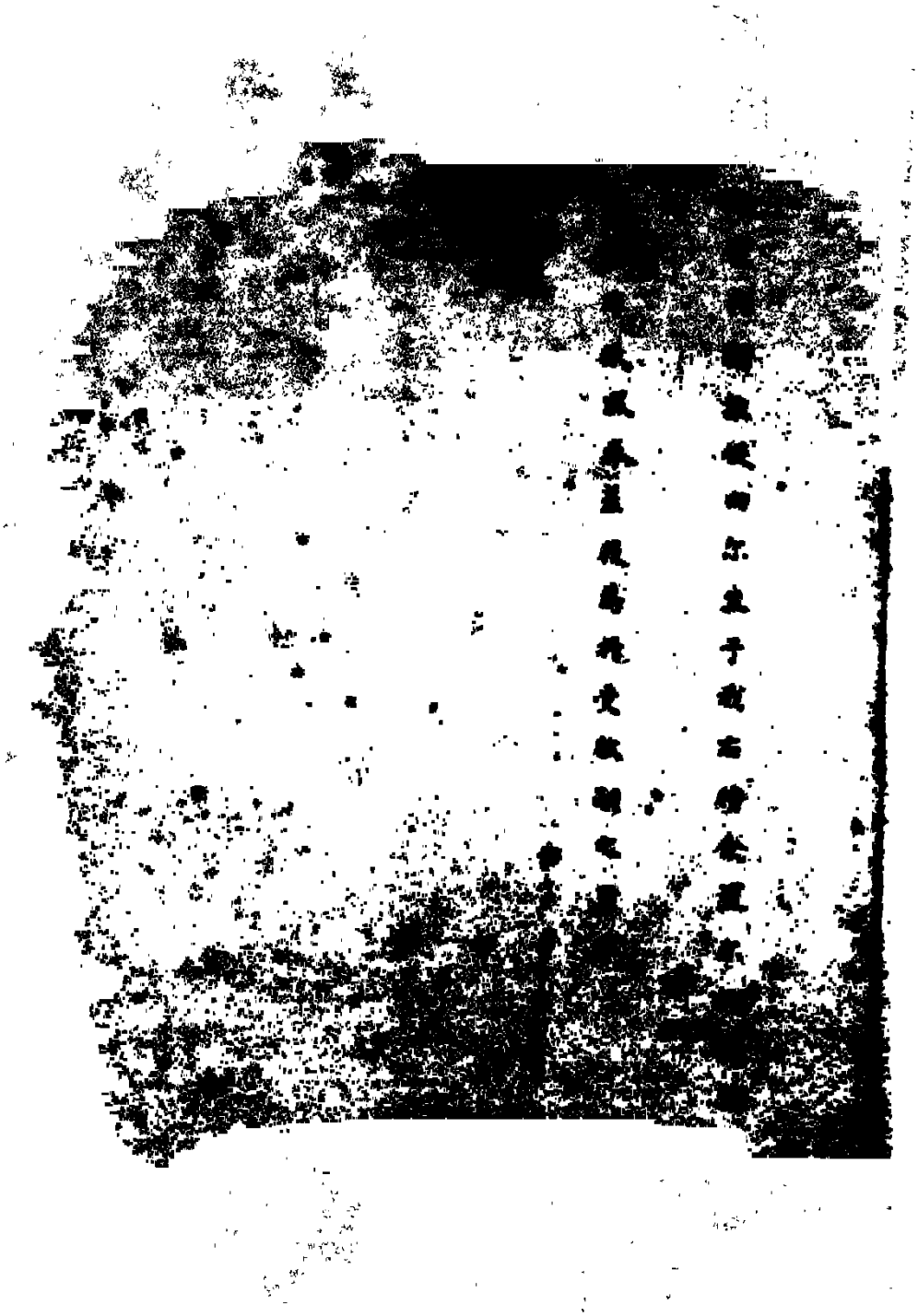


Sloane 3599 fol. 1r°.





Sloane 3599 fol. 4v°.



Sloane 3599 fol. 378r°.

8. The Epistle to the Philippians, 4 chapters, fol. 332r°–339r°: fol. 332r° (as above) 腓[1]立比書
 Note.—Here and in several of the following Epistles cap. 1 (2, etc.), or simply 1 (2, etc.) —once 1 ye, 2 ul—, surrounded by a line is written in pencil by the side of each Chinese chapter number.
9. The Epistle to the Colossians, 4 chapters, fol. 339v°–346r°: fol. 339v° (as above) 歌羅所書
10. The first Epistle to the Thessalonians, 5 chapters, fol. 346v°–353r°, 3: fol. 346v° (as above) 特撒羅第一書
 Note.—臭 is wrongly added after 撒
11. The second Epistle to the Thessalonians, 3 chapters, fol. 353r°, 4–356v°: fol. 353r° (as above) 特撒羅第二書
12. The first Epistle to Timothy, 6 chapters, fol. 357r°–365r°, 2: fol. 357r° (as above) 氐末斐第一書
13. The second Epistle to Timothy, 4 chapters, fol. 365r°, 3–371r°, 1: fol. 365r° (as above) 氐末斐第二書
14. The Epistle to Titus, 3 chapters, fol. 371r°, 2–374v°: fol. 371r° (as above) 的多書
15. The Epistle to Philemon, fol. 375r°–376v°: fol. 375r° (as above) 斐肋莫書
16. The Epistle to the Hebrews, first chapters only, fol. 377r°–378r°, 2: fol. 377r° (as above) 赫伯來書
 fol. 378r° *explicit* (see Plate V.)
 Note.—At the top of this page the word *ΤΕΛΟΣ* is written in English ink.
 fol. 378v° is blank, and there are five unnumbered flyleaves at the end, on the first of which is written, MS. Or: 22. 3599.

The Superintendent now in charge of the East India Company archives kindly tells me that John Hodgson was appointed in 1737 Fourth Supra-Cargo for the management of the Company's Affairs of their ships "London" and "Prince of Wales" on the voyage to China; and that James Hodgson and John Keeley, both of whom are described as "of Christ Hospital, Gentlemen", were accepted as securities for him in the sum of £2000. It was perhaps in relation to James Hodgson, who may have been his father, that our "Mr [John] Hodgson" is called junior. Mr George Hervey has

[1] The original uses the old form with the radical 163.

very kindly examined the marine records of the Company for me and finds that the *Prince of Wales* sailed from England on 16 August, 1737, for Borneo and Whampoa, and reached home again on 16 August, 1739, and that the *London* sailed for Java, Macao, and Whampoa on 22 November, 1737, and returned on 16 July, 1739. John Hodgson may have been already in Canton when he was appointed, as a supra-cargo did not necessarily sail on the ship for whose affairs he was responsible, and even the *Prince of Wales* would barely have carried him to Canton in time to discover the manuscript and to have the transcription of it begun before the end of 1737. Indeed H. B. Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company*, vol. I, 1926, p. 239, shows that John Hodgson was in Canton in 1736, when he was junior member of the Council (T. ffytche, chief, E. Wilson, H. Plant, T. Shore, J. Hodgson) for the ships *Walpole* and *Princess of Wales*. The same volume, p. 311, gives the *London* and *Prince of Wales* (both "first rate" ships of 495 tons) as, apparently, at Canton in 1738. It is perhaps likely that Hodgson came home on one of these two ships in July or August, 1739, in time to give the manuscript to Sir Hans Sloane in September.

James Hodgson (1672–25 June, 1755) was Master of the Royal School of Mathematics at Christ's Hospital for many years before his death and published several mathematical works. He was elected F.R.S. in 1703, and member of the Council in 1733. He married a niece of John Flamsteed, and was survived by his widow "and several children" (*D.N.B.*), but I have not been able to find his children's names.

That the maker of this unfinished translation of the New Testament was the French missionary Jean Basset M.E.P. (in China 1699–1707) has been shown by the Reverend B. H. Willeke O.S.F. in "The Chinese Biblical Manuscript in the British Museum", which appeared in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (U.S.A.), October, 1943. The evidence for this was found in three extracts from the Journal of the Chinese priest Andrew Li (1692–1774),[1] who nobly carried on the work of the Church in the province of Sŏŭ-ch'uan almost single handed in the dangerous years of the eighteenth century.

The latest of these extracts, dated 25 July, 1760, is from Li's

[1] *A Lazarist Journal of André Ly*, Paris, 1936.

written answers to questions which had been sent from the Sacred Congregation at Rome in 1750, but had not reached him before June, 1760. He writes on p. 512 :—

Ad 46^{am} quaestionem, respondeo quod dum inter mortales viveret B.M.D. *Johannes Basset* et partium occidentalis et meridionalis hujusce provinciae Provicarii munus exerceret, praeter cetera opuscula, missioni valde utilia, sed manu tantum exarata, et catechismi parvi primam partem, ad baptismum usque inclusive prelo datam, atque inter christianos istius provinciae usitatam, Novum etiam Testamentum, a latino sinicum in idioma, a sancto Matthaeo usque ad primum caput Epistolae B. Pauli Apostoli ad Hebraeos inclusive transtulerat; sed morte praeventus, opus egregium a se susceptum, absolvere nequivit. Illustrissimus dein B.M.D. Ecrinensis [Mgr de Martillat], non solum Evangelium sancti Matthaei, jampridem a praefato Domino *Basset* elaboratum, adjectis iis, quae primâ in versione omissa fuerant, correxit, . . .[1]

From this it is clear that Basset had been translating the whole New Testament into Chinese, but had died when he had reached the end of the first chapter to the Hebrews ("He had translated the New Testament also from Latin into the Chinese language, from S. Matthew as far as the first chapter of the Epistle of Blessed Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews inclusive; but, prevented by death, was unable to finish the great work which he had undertaken."), and Mr Willeke points out that the ending at that place practically proves the identity of the Sloane MS. with the version of Basset, who he says, relying on official records, died at the age of forty-five at Canton in December, 1707. (Li, whose memory for European dates may well have been growing hazy after fifty years, says (p. 417) that he had been buried in the cemetery of the Spanish Franciscans in 1706.) It seems then to be clear that Basset had made translations of the four Gospels—the Gospel of S. Matthew

[1] It is very strange, and naturally led Montucci (see below) to strange and groundless conjectures that the version of Sloane 3599 had never been known in China, that Bishop de Martillat himself should have written to Stephanus Fourmont from Ch'êng-tu on 9 August, 1741: Il seroit à souhaiter, que l'étude de cette Langue vint en vogue parmi les Sçavans, ils decouvriroient dans ses Livres, des connoissances aussi utiles que curieuses, & la Religion en retireroit un avantage essentiel; ce seroit la traduction des Livres sacrés, qui manquent absolument à l'Eglise de la Chine (S. Fourmont, *Linguae Sinarum . . . Grammatica Duplex*, Paris, 1742, preface, p. [xli]). Father de Lapparent says that the Bishop had been correcting Basset's S. Matthew in 1734, with a reference to A. Launay, *Se-tchuen*, I, p. 73.

is mentioned a second time ("D. Ecrinensis corrected the Gospel of Saint Matthew, made long ago by the aforesaid D. Basset, adding what had been left out in the first version."); and there is no mention of any *Harmony of the Gospels* in this formal account of his translations.

The year before, 30 May, 1759, he had written (p. 467): ... totus incubui in lectione Evangeliorum, totum per anni circulum, prout romano in Missali extant, nullo interprete adhibito, juxta traductionem D. *Basset*, primitivi quondam mei in Christo patris, e latino sinicam in linguam dudum factam, cum latino contuli; quâ in lectione ubi reperi sensum litteralem non sat bene expressum, vel juxta stylum sinicum constructionemve phrasium non apte appositum, prout mihi aptius visum fuit, meo in exemplari corrigere studui, intactis tamen aliis exemplaribus primariis. Hodie tandem Deo gratias, opus quod dudum susceperam absolvi. ... Interim *Tsang Pimarum* eodem dictum transcribendum commisi.

As he was studying the liturgical Gospels, he would probably be comparing them with the version of the complete Gospels and would not have need to mention a *Harmony*. It may be noted that he had in his possession, or within reach, at least three "primary copies" of Basset's version; and it would be very interesting to see his own copy corrected by an educated Chinese who was familiar with Latin; but this is unfortunately impossible. For in reply to my inquiries the Superior-General of the Missions Étrangères in Paris has most courteously sent me a letter from which I may quote the following: "These translations were not perfect, if one bears in mind ... this note written by Mgr Dufresse: 'Here (in Setchoan) we only possess the original version of the Gospels translated by Mr Basset, in which there are many mistakes not yet corrected, among which the Holy Ghost translated by the word "lung" that means wind' (Letter of the 10th September 1808). These literary works were not made by Basset only, but he was helped by a Chinese scholar Jean Su (who died in 1734). The original manuscript was thus in Setchoan in 1808. ... It seems likely that there is no other copy [besides Sloane 3599], neither in the Paris Seminary, where no such mention is made in the catalogues, nor in Rome, where it has never been mentioned. Two missionaries from Setchoan and at present in Paris declare that during their stay in China they never heard about this work." (Missions Étrangères, 128 Rue du Bac, Paris, 31 August, 1948). This melancholy

record only adds to the value of the manuscript in the British Museum. In using the word 風 *fêng* to translate "Spirit" Basset was following (perhaps consciously) the Nestorians of the eighth century, *cf.* H. Havret, *La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, I, p. xxiv; III, p. 46. Havret hesitated to translate *Fêng* as Holy Spirit; but the other Nestorian texts, found after his death, place that meaning beyond doubt. (See also p. 30 below.)

But to return to Li. On 19 March 1751 he had written in his Journal (p. 168):—

Absolvi componere historiam institutionis sanctissimi sacramenti, passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, juxta traductionem novi testamenti a B.M.D. *Basset*, et concordiam Evangeliorum, in linguâ vulgari, captui rudiorum proportionatam, quam facilius et uberiori cum fructu christianorum, legere valeam diebus passioni Domini consecratis.

("I have finished the composition of the story of the institution of the most holy Sacrament, of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, following the translation of the New Testament by Dom. Basset of blest memory, and a Harmony of the Gospels, in the vulgar tongue, fitted to the understanding of less educated persons, such as I may be able to read more easily and with richer fruit of Christians on days sacred to the Passion of the Lord.")

At first sight this may read as if Li had written both a *Story* and a *Harmony of the Gospels*; but on the whole *proportionatam* and *quam* in the singular number seem to refer to *historiam* only, and leave *concordiam* to be governed by *juxta* rather than by *componere*. But if Li does not mean that he had written a *Harmony* himself, neither does he say that the *Harmony* which he used had been made by Basset. We have then evidence that Li had a *Harmony* at Ch'êng-tu in 1751; and we know that a *Harmony*, made by someone, had been prefixed to Basset's version of the Acts and Epistles, in place of the four Gospels, before the end of 1737 if not before 1707, and that a copy of this was in England in September 1739. The coincidence of this with the fact that Li names the translation and a *Harmony* in one sentence is suggestive, and, if there is any force in what is said in the next paragraph below, the *Harmony* must be an integral part of Basset's original draft. But there is no direct evidence, as far as I know, that this *Harmony* was made by Basset himself, and on the other side is the fact that,

as we have seen, no *Harmony* is named in the formal account of his literary work.

Finally, the very unusually wide spacing of the columns of characters in the manuscript (p. 24 above) must, probably, be due to the scribe having been told to copy exactly an original so written; and the original would be most unlikely to have been written in so unusual and extravagant a way unless it was a first draft with much space allowed for interlinear corrections, which the author did not live to make. That there are no marginal titles may also be some support to this suggestion. And the Reverend G. W. Sheppard, who in *The Romance of the Chinese Bible* [1945] gives the fullest account of Sloane 3599 that has yet appeared, notes also on pp. 6 and 10 that "Spirit" is translated by *Fêng*, "Wind", (so unconsciously confirming the identity of the manuscript with Basset's version see p. 29 above) and that "God" is not 天主 *T'ien-Chu* but 神 *Shên*. But he is mistaken in thinking that the absence of *T'ien-Chu* makes it unlikely that the version can have been done by "one of the Roman Catholic Missionaries who went to China from Europe in the seventeenth century." The battle which was raging at the very time that Basset was translating was not over the choice between *Shên* and *T'ien-Chu*, but between 帝 *Ti* and *T'ien-Chu*, and it may be that he chose the less common and less controversial word *Shên* in hope of avoiding the dispute. But yet the absence of *T'ien-Chu* is not without interest, for it is true that he could not have used any term but *T'ien-Chu* if he had been writing after 1707, and in any transcript made for local use after 1707 *Shên* would, I think, always have been changed to *T'ien Chu*; for in that very year, 7 February 1707, the Papal decree which made the use of *T'ien-Chu* obligatory for all the China Missions had been published by Tournon at Nanking (H. Havret, *T'ien tchou*, 1901, p. 10). So we may perhaps reasonably think that our manuscript does not only give Basset's version, but was copied exactly from the original draft of that version which had been kept after the author's death unaltered at Canton.

Robert Morrison, as we are told, began his own translation work in 1810 by "revising the MS. copy in his hands, and correcting it with the help of the Greek" (*Historical Catalogue*, II, p. 182). It has not been possible for me to compare Morrison's version in any detail with Basset, but it may be that he was in the end as

much influenced by Lassar and Marshman, parts of whose version were printed in 1810 and whose S. Matthew had been sent to England in manuscript in 1807, as by Basset; though it is fair to add that, after a far more detailed comparison of the two versions than I have been able to make, the Reverend G. W. Sheppard thinks that Morrison was very largely founded on Basset. Although he did not possess Basset's version of the four Gospels, Morrison knew the names which were used for the Evangelists because references are often given in the text of the *Harmony*; and it may be of interest to compare these and other names with the forms which he used in his own new version, and to note that, though he followed Basset in the use of *Fêng* (e.g. Luke i, 35; John xx, 22; Romans i, 4; 2 Cor. xiii, 14) and of *Shên*, he did not think it necessary to keep all the old personal names which had been familiar to Chinese Christians for at least seventy, if not for two hundred, years.

The following table will show some of the changes made :—

English	*Harmony*		*Morrison*	
Matthew .	瑪(馬)竇	Ma-tou	馬竇	Ma-tou
Mark . .	瑪(馬)耳谷	Ma-êrh-ku	馬耳可	Ma-êrh-k'o
Luke . .	路加	Lu-chia	路加	Lu-chia
John . .	若望	Jo-wang	若翰	Jo-han

English		*Morrison*
The Acts . . .	使徒行傳	Shih t'u hsing chuan
Theophilus . . .	弟阿斐羅	Ti-a-fei-lo
Romans	羅馬	Lo-ma
Corinthians . . .	可林多	K'o-lin-to
Galatians . . .	厄拉氐亞	Ê-la-ti-ya
Ephesians . . .	以弗所	I-fu-so
Philippians . . .	腓利比	Fei-li-pi
Colossians . . .	可羅所	K'o-lo-so
Thessalonians . . .	弟撒羅尼亞	Ti-sa-lo-ni-ya
Timothy	弟摩氐	Ti-mo-ti
Titus	弟多	Ti-to
Philemon . . .	腓利們	Fei-li-mên
Hebrews	希比緻	Hsi-pi-liu

Basset's forms will be found on pp. 24–25 above.

Lastly, these names (Jesus, the four Evangelists, Saint Paul, Joseph, Mary, Nazareth, and others) are identical in Basset and in the Jesuit version (新經譯義 *Hsin ching i i*) printed at Shanghai in 1907; but "Spirit" becomes *Shên*, and "God" *T'ien-Chu*.

Postscript

I have now received, through the kindness of Bishop T. K. Shen of Shanghai, a number of references to mentions or descriptions either of Shanghai 3599 or of the Basset version from Father J. de Lapparent S.J. of the Bureau Sinologique at Zikawei as follows:—

William Moseley (of Long Buckby, Northants). *A memoir on the Importance and Practicability of translating and printing the Holy Scriptures in the Chinese Language, etc.*, 2nd ed., 1801 (reviewed in *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1801, p. 921).

C. G. de Murr. *Diatribe de Sinicis Bibliorum Versionibus* in J. Kurgler, *Notitiae S.S. Bibl. Jud. in Imp. Sinensi* (in *Nouveau Journal de Littérature*, 1798), reprinted Halle, 1805, pp. 68–82.

W. Milne, *Retrospect*, 1820, pp. 55 sq.; *Chinese Repository*, IV, 1835, pp. 251 sq.

Adrien Launay, *Sou-tchuen*, 1920, I, pp. 73, etc.

Kenneth Latourette, *Hist. of Christian Missions*, 1929, pp. 190, 210, 212.

G. W. Sheppard, a paper read before the N. China Branch R.A.S. on 21 February, 1929 (reported in *N.-C. Daily News*, 22 February; *Bulletin de la Commission Synodale*, March, 1929, pp. 189 sq.; *China Journal*, April 1929, p. 214).

The important reference to de Murr is obscure. If he printed anything about the MS. in 1798, he must have rewritten it for the 2nd edition of *Notitiae* in 1805 (Preface, 1 May, 1804), for it is there based on a long article by Antonio Montucci (a transcriber to the East India Company), "An Account of an Evangelical Chinese Manuscript in the British Museum", in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1801, pp. 881-7, and November, pp. 991–2. Montucci prints an elaborate analysis of the *Harmony* (p. 992; de Murr, pp. 70-6), which is an important addition to my own notes. He shows that it is composed of 213 sections or lessons, each with a reference to Gospel, chapter, and verse. Father de Lapparent says that the *Harmony* was made by Jean Su (p. 28

above), with a reference, which I have been unable to verify, to A. Launay, *Se-tchuen*, I, p. 74.

Finally, the following notes of Roman Catholic versions of the Bible is derived directly or indirectly from Father de Lapparent's letter :—

Basset's version was not finished. There is no copy of it at Zikawei, or, as far as is known, elsewhere in China.

Louis de Poirot (1735–1814) translated the greater part of the Bible into colloquial (*vulgaire*) Chinese and into Manchu about the year 1790. This version, of which at least two MS. copies seem to exist, included the whole Bible except the Prophets, of which only Isaiah, Daniel, and Jonah appear. (Leave to translate the Bible had been obtained from the Pope by N. Trigault early in 1615.) Pfister, pp. 113, 966–9.

The New Testament, complete, tr. Joseph Hsiao S.J., 1930.

The Four Gospels and Acts, tr. Laurent Li S.J., 1897, etc.

The Four Gospels, "unis, traduits, et commentés" by Ma Hsiang-po. "A commission is now working at Peking on a new translation of the whole Bible, of which a part has already been printed."

The Dong-So'n Genius and the Evolution of Cham Art

By H. G. QUARITCH WALES

(PLATES VI AND VII)

SINCE publishing my general theory of cultural differentiation in Greater India[1] I have read M. Stern's important book *L'Art du Champa* (Paris, 1942). His new chronology[2] provides a firmer basis from which to operate than was hitherto available; so I propose now to make a more detailed analysis from the point of view of testing my conclusions as to what caused the Cham evolution to take the particular direction it did.

This entails examining the material so that it may reveal the action of the genius peculiar to Cham art, since modern research has tended to show it is local genius that guides the general course of an evolution. That there is good *prima facie* reason for believing that genius is the Dong-So'n genius, not however to the exclusion of a Han element in probably lesser degree, I have already indicated. And to the evidence I previously adduced it may be added that Dr Janse in his recent book has pointed out that Dong-so'n remains have been found not only in neighbouring Tonkin but even in Cham territory.[3]

While looking primarily for evidence of the guiding action of the Dong-So'n genius in the Cham evolution, I shall also look for any

[1] "Culture Change in Greater India," *JRAS.*, pts. 1 and 2, 1948.

[2] His main styles and their approximate dating are as follows:—
Early Style: probably eighth century A.D.
Prasat Thamvi Krap (Cham temple in Khmer territory): slightly before 802 A.D.
Hoa lai Style: first half of ninth century.
Dong-duo'o'ng Style: second half of ninth century, probably continuing into tenth century.
Mi-So'n A_1 Style: probably beginning of tenth century, continuing to beginning of eleventh century.
Transition to Binh-dinh Style: eleventh century.
Binh-dinh Style: twelfth century to early part of thirteenth.
Late Style: into thirteenth to seventeenth century.

[3] *Archaeological Research in Indochina*, 1947, p. xxiii. Notably he mentions finds of shoe-shaped bronze coins and basket pottery (the latter at Tra-ki'eu in Quang-nam), while "split, disc-shaped jade rings and beads similar to those found at Dong-so'n have been discovered at Sa-huynh in Qu'ang-ngai".

comparisons that may throw light on the situation from a different angle. In particular, direct comparison of the genius of Cham art with that of Khmer art is likely to be illuminating. If, as I believe, the guiding genius of Khmer art, so far as it remains constant, is the Older Megalithic, and that of Cham art is perhaps mainly the Dong-So'n, comparison is likely to provide a more clear-cut test of my theory than comparison with Indo-Javanese art, whose genius would seem to include all three elements, Older Megalithic, Dong-So'n, and Han. While during the earlier periods the position is often obscured by the intensity of Indo-Javanese influences on Khmer art and of Indo-Javanese and Khmer influences on Cham art, I shall show that later such direct and interesting comparisons can be made.

M. Stern provides well-organized data for architectural decoration and for sculpture. If the former proves the more fruitful it is perhaps because the principles involved are less complex and here we can distinguish more clearly the working of the local genius. We know that Older Megalithic art, as it survives among the Nagas of Assam, for example, is characterized by a liking for circles, rosettes, and other simple juxtaposed designs: Dong-So'n art, well known both from ancient bronzes and modern survivals, shows a love of complicated spirals, circles linked by tangents, meanders, etc.

Now, as I mentioned in my previous article, we have no reason to suppose that the impact of the various waves of Indian influence, though very widespread, was uniform throughout Greater India.[1] So we cannot assume that each art started with the same supply of Indian capital, either qualitatively or quantitatively. Take a specific motif, which we shall see is of critical importance, the rather complicated recalcitrant spiral motif or "scroll with recurved volutes". It is rather rare in early Indian art (it occurs at Bhumara),[2] and so there is no reason for surprise that while it is known in eighth century Indo-Javanese [3] and Primitive Khmer art, it does not occur in the earliest art of the Chams. Had the Indians brought it to Champa, it could hardly have failed to

[1] It is partly due to this that the arts of the western zone, though purely colonial Indian manifestations, yet show a recognizable individuality. In the eastern zone any initial differentiation, dependent on the relative proportion of the various Indian influences, becomes of less importance as local genius asserts itself.

[2] *MASI.*, No. 16, pls. IVa and *b*, and VIIc.

[3] Stern, op. cit., pl. 49; Krom, *Inleiding*, pl. 12.

become the vogue there, as it did in Java; for a foliage motif so obviously cognate to the Dong-So'n spirals would surely have made instant appeal. Now, significantly enough, though occurring rarely in the Primitive Khmer art, e.g. of Sambor, where it is heavily and badly executed,[1] this motif made little immediate appeal to the Khmers, who preferred that typical Indian motif, so widespread in Greater India, the series of alternating flowers, lozenges, and perhaps circles and squares (a simple pair of volutes joined to each of these).[2] This motif accorded well with Older Megalithic taste and lent itself to development as rosettes or medallions.

This brings us to an interesting point. The Chams, though denied the scroll with recurved volutes by their particular Indian gurus, seem to have done their utmost to put a curving effect into those Indian motifs they did receive. M. Stern, without suggesting any reason, recognizes this when, in noting that the Chams eventually received the scroll with recurved volutes from Java early in the tenth century, he says " L'évolution avait déjà amené à des formes assez analogues, bien que traitées tout différemment ".[3]

It is of no less significance to find that the Khmers acted quite otherwise. Not only did they neglect the scroll with recurved volutes as originally received from India. Once they had absorbed it more deeply as the result of strong Indo-Javanese influence in the ninth century, the action of their own genius began to break it up into isolated motifs, a process completed in the art of the Bayon.[4] To this point I shall have occasion to return.

The Cham tendency to put a curving or waved effect into the Indian decorative motifs can be seen as arches, pilasters, and friezes develop from the virtually Indian forms of the eighth century through the Hoa lai and Dông-dzu'o'ng styles of the ninth and early part of the tenth century, the latter being the style in which local genius attains its greatest activity.[5]

In the Cham Early Style we find an Indian type arch,[6] ornamented

[1] G. de Coral Rémusat, *L'Art Khmer*, Paris, 1940, p. 74.
[2] H. Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, fig. 72.
[3] Stern, op. cit., p. 30.
[4] de Coral Rémusat, op. cit., pls. XI, 34; XXI, 72; and XXIX, 102.
[5] For convenience, in the following comparisons, I give references where possible to both Stern's *L'Art du Champa* and to H. Parmentier's *Inventaire descriptif des Monuments Cams de l'Annam*, Paris, 1909–1918 (abbreviated *IC.*).
[6] Stern, pl. 22; *IC.*, I, figs. 90 bis, 92.

with flowers, though when it ends in *makaras* these turn outwards, perhaps owing to the Han element in the Cham genius as I have previously suggested. In the Hoa-lai Style this early type of arch changes (through the intermediary of Pr. Damrei Krap) [1] to a unique type of opening with undulating edges, the space between the edges being filled with parallel undulating foliage stems ending here and there in volutes.[2] It is not this invasion of foliage, which happens also in Primitive Khmer art as Indian control slackens, but the *undulating* character of the decoration and opening that is significant here. In the Dông-dzu'o'ng Style, apart from a development of the ends of the outer stems into five big floral motifs, the main difference is the cutting up of the leaves of the parallel stems into little hooks.[3] This gives a characteristic "vermiculated" appearance of overcrowded tortuosity and prolific vitality very different from the classic plainness of early Cham art.[4]

The pilaster decoration shows a well-marked evolution from the Indian lozenge and flower motif in the Early Style,[5] by way of a stem with leaves on each side evidently evolved from this, to an undulating stem, often divided, which is already established in the Hoa-lai Style.[6] And in the Dông-dzu'o'ng Style it is this undulating motif that develops most significantly. Its leaves are broken into vermiculated hooks which curl into right and left volutes (Plate VI) in such manner that through internal evolution the Cham decoration here attains by a different route very much the same effect that Indo-Javanese art had reached more immediately, owing to its having received the Indian scroll with recurved volutes.

In the frieze the significant development, very special to the

[1] Stern, pl. 23; Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, pl. lxi.

[2] Stern, pl. 24; *IC.*, i, fig. 21.

[3] Stern, pl. 27; *IC.*, ii, fig. 41.

[4] In passing it may be noted that the arch (in lintel or pediment frame) is one of the most distinctive features of each of the great architectures of the eastern zone of Greater India, although we are prevented from comparing all three at the same period because the specific character of the Khmer arch is temporarily delayed in making its appearance by Javanese influence. I suggest, however, that in each art the distinctive character of the arch decoration is clearly due to the nature of the genius guiding the development of *this particular* architectural member, Dong-So'n in the case of the undulating vermiculated Cham arch, Han in the Central Javanese *kâla-makara* arch, and Older Megalithic in the typical *sâpa* arch of the Khmers.

[5] Stern, pls. 22*a* and *b*, 52; *IC.*, i, fig. 90.

[6] Stern, pl. 34*b*; *IC.*, pl. cxiv.

Chams, is the change that comes about in what were in the Early Style simple Indian garlands.[1] In becoming *equally curved* above and below, they now resemble rather an undulating band or meander pattern so that their origin is lost sight of. Already apparent in the Style of Hoa-lai [2] this metamorphosis is complete in the Dông-dzu'o'ng Style (Plate VI). Very different is the Khmer treatment of garlands as may be well seen in the evolution of the lintels.[3] They tend to survive as isolated foliage loops still often separated by pendants.

I will now consider the sculpture corresponding to these decorative styles. The earliest Cham sculpture has been termed by M. Stern "revivified Gupta".[4] I would emphasize the "revivified" while being less certain that by this date, the eighth century, Cham sculpture had not also absorbed some Pallava influence. That at least seems to be indicated in the somewhat later Hoa-lai sculpture, by such features as the broad shoulders and some details of dress and ornament.[5] But the Chams no more blindly imitated Indian art than did the Khmers. As Mus has said, they lived it. If they did not at this stage innovate much, it is perhaps not only because of the control of the *śāstras*, especially with the deity sculpture, but because little innovation is possible when the mind is concentrated on learning. At first local genius is mainly occupied with charming the more acceptable. Innovation by moulding or invention comes later. It came to the Chams later in the ninth century. The sculpture of Dông-dzu'o'ng, like its architectural ornament, is recognized by Stern [6] as the most original of all Cham art.

Just here an apparent difficulty presents itself. How, one may ask, can we ascribe to this Dong-So'n genius both the physically forceful sculpture of Dông-dzu'o'ng and the vital but graceful and refined sculpture of Central Java in which the Dong-So'n genius, capable as it was of both naturalistic and stylized representation, seems to play a large though not exclusive part?

Indirect hints thrown out by Dr. Heine-Geldern,[7] plus recognition that it is primarily its energy that local genius brings to the handling

[1] Stern, pl. 22b. *IC*., pl. cxli (H.I.).
[2] Stern, pl. 24b.
[3] Rémusat, *op. cit.*, pls. v–a.
[4] Stern, p. 8, pls. 22, 23. *IC*., i, figs. 90, 93.
[5] Stern, pl. 23. *IC*., ii, fig. 69.
[6] p. 78.
[7] "Vergleichsbetrachtungen der Kulturgeschichte Ozeaniens" in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, vol. viii, 1934, pp. 28–7.



DETAIL OF A CHAM TEMPLE OF DÔNG-DZU'O'NG STYLE, SHOWING DEVELOPMENT OF FRIEZE AND PILASTER DESIGN.

of foreign influences, are suggestive. So long as Indian thought-control remains strong this energy is sublimated towards spiritual ends, spirituality being the prime characteristic of Indian civilization. But when local genius gains power to mould, its energy makes rather for expression of the physical, in accordance with aims now more concerned with the attainment of worldly rewards.

We see the unchecked physicality of the Dong-So'n genius at work in the non-Indianized highly dynamic sculptures of Pasemah in Sumatra and perhaps in somewhat similar figures from Tonkin.[1] But in the earliest Cham art such exuberance has been harnessed to spiritual ends. Hence it is that we get the impression of its being "revivified Gupta", the Indian-looking sculpture here regaining a vitality its prototypes had not known since the time of the Mathurā school. It is this same spiritually directed exuberance in all but the most placid because sacrosanct Buddha figures that gives Central Javanese art the delicacy and grace, and especially the perfection of detail, that are the essence of its original quality.[2]

In Champa by the ninth century forceful physicality is already coming to the fore as a result of a less intense and direct Indian influence than Java experienced. In East Java, once Indian control had been thrown off,[3] the local genius was even freer, than in Champa, to express its vitality in terms of physical strength. Compare a Dông-dzu'o'ng *dvārapāla*[4] with a typical East Javanese relief figure. Forceful physicality is common to both. If a genius in large part Dong-So'n could, under different conditions of Indian influence, be responsible both for the delicate sculpture of Borobodur and the very different East Javanese relief figure, there is no great difficulty in believing that the Dong-So'n genius

[1] Janse, op. cit., pl. 55.

[2] The Older Megalithic element in Indo-Javanese, as in Khmer art, was intrinsically less able to release its pent up force because of its more primitive technique. But once it learnt from the Indians how to express itself, its force also manifested itself as harnessed to spiritual ends whenever Indian or Central Javanese influence was strong, but more physically as local genius asserted itself. The latter can be distinctly seen in those periods of Khmer art in which local genius was most active.

[3] Though foreshadowed at Prambanan the definite change came about in East Java, perhaps as a result of a violent reaction to the too intense Indian influence, after the manner of what are known to anthropologists as "nativistic movements". This triumphed and persisted, despite a limited late Pāla Buddhist influence, which had in course of time become more suitable for local assimilation.

[4] Stern, pl. 55*b*; *IC.*, i, figs. 111, 112.

may equally be held responsible both for the *revivified* Indian aspect of the earliest Cham sculpture and for the forceful physicality of the sculpture of Dông-dzu'o'ng.

Any renascence of indigenous culture in Champa at this juncture [1] was prevented by the arrival about the end of the ninth century of a new and powerful wave of Indo-Javanese influence. Amounting in a sense to a new and revitalized wave of Indian influence, this had an immense effect. Affecting Khmer art at the beginning of the ninth century it seems not to have reached Champa until nearly a century later. It is difficult to be sure to what extent these Indo-Javanese influences came to Champa direct, as M. Stern appears to suppose, and to what extent they came via Cambodia, as they may well have done in part. This is suggested by their later arrival and the fact that a certain amount of Khmer influence came at the same time.

Anyhow I would not be so confident about attributing such conscious initiative to the Chams as M. Stern is, when he says [2] that at the end of the Dông-dzu'o'ng period they were searching for new inspiration in foreign arts. Conscious initiative on the part of enlightened individuals was no doubt occasionally a factor in South-East Asia. But, judging by results, the rule would seem to be that, as foreign influence ebbed, and failing a new stimulus from without, a people tended to work increasingly in their own way. We do not know what the Chams were thinking at this time. But their *behaviour* can hardly be regarded as other than a response to what appealed to them in the intense stimulus of the Indo-Javanese wave of influence.

The Cham art of the Mi-Sơn A_1 Style (tenth and early eleventh century) has changed in an astonishing manner from what preceded it. However, since harmony is preserved because local genius is still selecting and governing the execution, evolution in the strict sense continues. There is as yet no extreme foreign acculturation.

In the field of architectural ornament it is not surprising to find

[1] In my previous article I touched sufficiently on the return of Dong-Sơ'n motifs and ancestor worship with hut stones in the Late period. Since both the Cham spirit and Cham material fortunes were then in complete decay, this final unmistakable return to a shadow of the pre-Indian civilization in Champa was a very different matter from the virile renascence that had taken place centuries earlier in East Java.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 83, 84.

that the scroll with recurved volutes now has pride of place.[1] With it there appear to have been introduced one or two other typical Indo-Javanese motifs.[2] Borrowings from the Khmers are more restricted and are such that like the curved pediment frame and several rather minor decorative motifs,[3] they do no violence to established Cham taste. The *nâga* is rejected after a very tentative trial in pediment frames,[4] and there is no sign of any attempt to introduce the Khmer temple-mountain at this period.

The sculpture of the Mi-S'on A_1 Style has an elegance and grace which Stern regards as a "reaction against" the Dông-dzu'o'ng type.[5] I would prefer to describe it as a *response to* the same stimuli that at this time so profoundly affected the architectural decoration, namely the Central Javanese. This influence is I think very evident in the soft yet lively modelling of the beautiful *apsaras* and in certain details of her dress and of that of the other figures on the famous Tra-kiêu pedestal.[6] The Dong-So'n energy, controlled by a sudden influx of Indo-Javanese influence, has been almost suddenly diverted from more physical and crude expression to a surprising sweetness and spirituality. Yet what we see is decidedly a Cham work.

After a period of pronounced foreign influence such as this, when learning rather than modifying is the governing activity, we might expect that local genius would once more come to the fore, as it did in the Dông-dzu'o'ng Style, moulding what has been accepted and thus once more emphasizing the continuity of the evolutionary direction. Such at least would appear to be the rule in what may be called a normal evolution and it is certainly so in Khmer art. In her book *L'Art Khmer* (p. 126) the late Mme de Coral Rémusat brings out clearly the alternation of periods when new decorative themes flourished with periods when (she considered) the art lay relatively dormant. But innovation based on the acceptance of foreign motifs is not the only criterion of the art's activity. It is during the intervening periods that local genius most actively moulds what has been borrowed so as to conform increasingly to the main trend of the evolution. Thus we find in these so-called "phases de sommeil" in Khmer art (Prei Khmeng, Bakheng, Koh Ker, Kléang, Baphuon, and Bayon) such characteristically

[1] Stern, pl. 31; *IC.*, ii, fig. 42; and pl. clvi.
[2] Stern, p. 64.
[3] Stern, p. 78.
[4] Stern, pp. 67, 68.
[5] Stern, p. 18.
[6] Stern, pl. 52b; *Arts Asiatica*, iv, pl. xx.

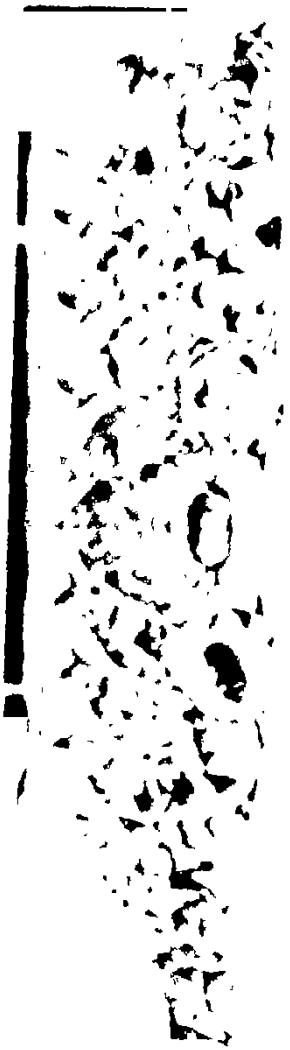
Khmer developments as a tendency towards decoration with medallions, including increased emphasis on the central motif of lintels, or the breaking up of complicated motifs based on spirals, enhanced monumental quality of the statuary and accelerated growth of the temple-mountain. In Champa, on the contrary, we find no such renewed activity of the local genius after the Mi-So'n A_1 period of strong foreign influence. Instead we get decadence. By the year A.D. 1000, that marks the start of the transition to the Style of Binh-dinh, we are at the beginning of that long period of decay that brings steady deterioration until the virtual end of Cham art in the seventeenth century. If we look to political history for a cause we find it in the events which led to the first dismemberment of the Cham kingdom in A.D. 1069.

Obviously internal disruption and the misfortunes of war strike at the vitality of local genius rather than at intensity of foreign influence. The latter is apt to be increased, though not in a manner likely to benefit harmonious evolution. Thus while in its decline Cham art is marked primarily by those twin symptoms of exhaustion simplification and reduplication there seems to have been a great increase of Khmer influence in the twelfth century. This naturally reached a peak in the period of Jayavarman VII's conquest and annexation (1181 to 1220).

This later Khmer influence is distinguishable from that of the Mi-So'n A_1 period by the failure of local genius to exercise power of selection. Thus in the Tours d'Ivoire *nāgas* and *garudas* seem as though literally copied from a Khmer temple.[1] The superstructure of the somewhat earlier Hu'ng-thanh temple closely resembles that of an Angkor Wat tower.[2] In the terraced basement of the Tours d'Argent (probably first half of the twelfth century) the Chams appear to be copying the Khmer temple-mountain which had no previous place in their tradition.[3] Side by side with signs of decadence, Khmer influence is very evident also in the Binh-dinh sculpture.[4] One gets the impression that in accepting the Khmer cultural pattern almost unchanged the Chams were on the verge of complete acculturation. From this fate, however, subsequent political developments saved them.

But if Cham genius, by the end of the twelfth century, was

[1] Stern, pl. 46a; *BC*, pls. xlvii and xlviii B.
[2] Stern, pl. 38a; *BC*, i, fig. 49; ii, fig. 168.
[3] Stern, pp. 66, 68. [4] Stern, pls. 61, 62.



A Khmer Lintel of the Bayon Style



A Cham Lintel of contemporary Binh-dinh Style.

certainly weakening, it was by no means in total abeyance. This could hardly be more clearly seen than by comparing (Plate VII) a Cham lintel of this (Binh-dinh) period, with a contemporary Khmer lintel of the second part of the Bayon Style. As Stern implies,[1] the former is not just a copy of the Bayon lintel but is an exact translation of it into Cham terms. And in confronting the two (now that the masking effect of Indo-Javanese influences has been left far behind) I am able to make that demonstration of the contrasting working of the Khmer and Cham genii to which I looked forward.

In both arts local genius had been at work since the beginning, seeking to select and then to mould foreign motifs, each in its own particular way. Now, in the Bayon lintel we see the tendency of the Khmers to break up an originally imported foliage motif based on spirals, so as to give the effect of almost isolated circles each crowned by a tall triangle ; it is the eventual triumph of the Older Megalithic love for simple juxtaposed motifs. In the Cham translation we get a no less determined effort to accentuate the spiral while the unacceptable triangles are discarded. Even the lines of the monster's jaw and brow are undulated, while his pointed crown is gone. If this Cham lintel is, as is agreed, essentially based on the Khmer lintel, how else can we explain its peculiar variation from the model except by supposing that the persistent Dong-So'n liking for spiral designs is making itself felt ?

Though these two lintels afford the opportunity of making a striking comparison, I hasten to add that the opposing trends noticed are widespread and deep-seated in the two arts. Thus the Khmer trend can be seen clearly in the pilaster evolution. We shall now analyse it a little more closely in order to understand the nature of the change involved. In the Khmer pilaster decoration the original type of scroll with recurved volutes, as borrowed from Central Java,[2] and as found in Indian art, is definitely copied in the Style of Prah Kô [3] and again at Banteai Srei.[4] That is to say the volutes come off an unbroken undulating stem so that the eye, being carried along it, gets the impression primarily of a continuous meander form (even though in the Khmer versions disregard for this effect is already shown by allowing the pilaster mouldings to

[1] Stern, p. 65. [2] E.g. Chandi Kalasan, Stern, pl. 49.
[3] Rémusat, op. cit., pl. xxi, fig. 66. [4] Ibid., fig. 69.

encroach somewhat upon the stem). By the style of Baphuon [1] a marked change has come about which is completed in the style of Bayon.[2] Now the continuous undulating stem has disappeared and each volute springs from its neighbour. The eye, instead of being carried on, tends to follow the curve of each volute so that one gets the effect of a barely connected series of circles, which is precisely the effect that has been remarked in the case of the Bayon lintel. A further stage is sometimes reached in the Bayon [3] or even in the Angkor Wat Style,[4] where the volutes turn into barely connected and finally into *completely separated* medallions.

In Cham art no such trend can be discerned. Nor is there even any tendency (as at Koh Ker and Banteai Srei) to allow the pilaster moulding to encroach upon the stem. Most significant is the fact that even in the Binh-dinh Style, where there is so much imitation of contemporary Khmer art, the stress on the undulating stem is rigorously maintained. Another good example of this is seen in the decoration of the ten-armed statue of Śiva from the Tours d'Argent in the Musée Guimet (M.G. 18130).

I doubt if it could be seriously objected that the trend towards circles, etc., in Khmer design is but the tendency towards simplification observable in all arts as they decline. In the first place the trend is established quite by the Baphuon Style when Khmer art was approaching its zenith. Secondly, were we to admit simplification as a possible factor, we should find that the Chams simplify very differently from the Khmers. In the later Cham art we find, as is well known, that manuscript *sa* (i.e. simplified spirals) are the overwhelmingly preponderant decorative motif. The Binh-dinh style dragon in the Musée Guimet (M.G. 18901), for example, is decorated mainly with manuscript *sa* and rows of little cork-screw-like motifs, both quite foreign to Khmer art. Even in decay the Dong-So'n spirit gives distinction to Cham design.

Notes on the Previous Article "Culture Change in Greater India" (*JRAS.*, 1948)

p. 3. "structural temples of C'âya." I inadvertently omitted to mention that M. Claudin was the first also to suggest Cham influence in Wât Kêo (*J.A. de L.* 1927, pp. 65–6) while he drew attention to the Cham appearance of a stone Lokeśvara from C'âya (*Arts Asiatiques*, viii, p. 25 and pl. xiv). This Cham influence in Wât

[1] Ibid., fig. 72.
[2] Ibid., pl. xxix, fig. 102.
[3] Ibid., fig. 73.
[4] Ibid., Pl. xxix, figs. 100, 101.

Kân is doubtless proved, now that Stern has shown that the tripartite type of pilaster was a Cham invention. But in this and other features Wat Kau is unique for the Peninsula.

p. 11, l. 8. "the archaeological remains in the western zone represent simply the reflection of one or other of the main waves of Indian cultural expansion." Besides the initial diversity of the various western zone arts caused by differing Indian art capital (see the present article, p. 35, n. 1) a certain amount of differentiation in the western zone accrues from the subsequent borrowing of motifs from different sources, e.g. the Khmer and Nepalese loans in the art of Pagan, Burma, as compared with the East Javanese loans in the contemporary art of Sumatra. But the conserving tendency is so strong in these Indian colonial arts of the western zone and these loans seem too restricted to stimulate evolutionary activity. The continuing effect of South Indian genius in parts of the zone is also a factor for differentiation, as referred to on p. 9.

p. 18, l. 1. For "megalithic dynamism" read "monumental quality".

p. 20, last line. "Older Megalithic tendencies." If ancient Khmer megalithic monuments survive, the place to look for them would be not Cambodia but Lower Laos, the earlier home of the Khmers, and from the point of view of prehistory still a terra incognita.

p. 24, l. 15. "*phnom* tradition." The Khmer *phnom* tradition was possibly being imitated by the Chams when a Śiva temple was set up on the Mount Vugvan (? Mi-So'n group G) in the middle of the twelfth century. And, as we have seen, the terraced base of the Tours d'Argent is an evident imitation of the Khmer temple-mountain of about the same period. But, one may repeat, these were essentially late borrowings, foreign to Cham tradition.

p. 25, n. 2. Superseded by the present article.

p. 27, l. 8. "second period" Khmer sculpture. By this rather outmoded expression I was referring to the styles of Angkor Wat and the Bayon.

p. 28, l. 3. For "eighth" read "late eighth and ninth".

p. 31, l. 14. "Strong influx of Indo-Javanese artistic and cultural influence." It is noteworthy that little Mahâyânism and apparently no Pâla influenced temple architecture of the Central Javanese style were introduced to Cambodia at this time. But these influences had been brought to Java in quite different local circumstances (see Professor F. D. K. Bosch's re-study of the Ligor inscription in *Tijdschrift*, LXXI. i. 1941) and under more intense Indian influence. Moreover what had thus been accepted virtually under duress was soon to provoke reaction. In Cambodia the influence of the short Javanese conquest, and of Jayavarman II, who was evidently no lover of the Śailendras, was sufficient only to introduce such forms as were more readily acceptable, especially as Cambodia was largely screened from direct Indian Mahâyânist influence by the Hînayânist state of Dvâravatî. Mahâyânism in force, as a delayed product of the Pâla wave, came later to Cambodia and in a more easily assimilable syncretic form.

The Transmission of Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ

By JAMES ROBSON

THE collections of Tradition compiled by Al-Bukhārī and Muslim are considered to be more authoritative than any other. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says: "Their books are the soundest after the mighty Book of God."[1] Most Muslims consider Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to be the more authoritative of the two, but there have been some who have expressed a preference for Muslim's. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Naisābūrī is quoted as saying: "There is no book under the face of heaven sounder than the book of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj."[2] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says that if this merely means that Muslim did not imitate Al-Bukhārī in giving statements in his headings unaccompanied by an *isnād*, there is no harm; but if it means that the book itself is sounder, it is to be refuted. Al-Nawawī remarks that Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* has an advantage over Al-Bukhārī's because he gives all the lines of transmission when he mentions a tradition, whereas Al Bukhārī repeats traditions in different places, sometimes giving one line of transmission and sometimes another.[3] Al-Dhahabī quotes Ibn 'Uqla to the effect that Al-Bukhārī sometimes makes the mistake of mentioning a man on one occasion by his name and on another by his *kunya* and imagining that there are two men, whereas Muslim rarely makes an error.[4] But Al-Dhahabī shows that he himself considers Al-Bukhārī to be superior, for after mentioning the words of Abū 'Alī al-Naisābūrī quoted above, he remarks laconically: "Perhaps Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* had not reached Abū 'Alī." In addition to Abū 'Alī, some *shaikhs* of the Maghrib are said to have preferred Muslim; but the general view is that, while the two are of the highest authority, Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* takes first place.[5]

In collecting information regarding the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* I have been dependent on three main sources: Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, i, pp. 5–8; Abū Bakr b. Khair, *Fihrist*, pp. 98–102; and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣalāḥī. *Kitāb al-imtā'*, [*al-amtā'*], *wal-intifā'*, ff. 7*a*–8*b*.[6]

[1] *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 13. [2] Ibid., p. 14. [3] *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, i, p. 10.
[4] *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 151. [5] Cf. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, ii, 512 ff., 541 ff.
[6] MS. No. xxxix, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī[1] (631–676/1233–1277) was a very famous jurist and traditionist whose work is well known. He was a Shāfi'ī doctor of great industry and erudition who wrote important works on Tradition, including his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in the introduction to which he gives information regarding the transmission of the text. He confines himself to his own line of transmission, which he declares to be the authoritative one in his neighbourhood, and he mentions the line through Al-Qalānisī, but does not pursue it beyond the beginning of the fifth century. He quotes Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (577–643/1181–1245)[2] as indicating that by his time and for a long period before it, the connected transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is not important. It is enough for practical purposes to have a written copy which has been guaranteed by two authorities who have compared it with numerous others. This opinion is reasonable, but the inclination to get the *Ṣaḥīḥ* through an unbroken chain endured, as Al-Nawawī himself illustrates and as, indeed, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ himself says.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khair b. 'Umar b. Khalīfa[3] (502–575/1109–1179) belonged to Seville. There is no record of his travelling abroad, but he met many authorities on Tradition in Spain and corresponded with others. He learned traditions either by word of mouth or by correspondence from over a hundred *shaikhs*, a list of whose names he compiled. He was a distinguished traditionist, grammarian, and philologist of wide learning. Abul Ḥasan b. Mughīth, one of his *shaikhs*, was so pleased with his ability as a student that he uttered the neat phrase, "Abū Bakr b. Khair is Khair b. Khair" (Good the son of Good). In writing his books he is said to have spared no pains in assuring himself of their accuracy. The result was that when he died they sold at very high prices.

The identity of the author of *Kitāb al-imtā' wal-intifā'* is unknown. The form Al-Shalāḥī[4] is doubtful, and it is not clear whether the name which appears at the end of the MS. with the date 701/1302 is that of the author or of the copyist. But whoever the author was, he was a man of wide learning and great

[1] See Dhahabi, *Tadh.*, iv, 250 ff.; *Encyc. of Islām*, iii, 634 f.

[2] *Shurūṭ*, i, p. 9.

[3] Dhahabi, *Tadh.*, iv, 154 f.; Al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, No. 112; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, No. 2998.

[4] See *JRAS.*, 1935, 341 f.

accuracy. I have made a translation of the whole MS., which extends to 119 folios, checking quotations and other details, and have been struck by its accuracy. The author derives most of his information regarding the transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abul Qāsim al-'Azafī who got it from his father Abul 'Abbās al-'Azafī (557–633/1162–1236). I have found no information about Abul Qāsim.[1] His father[2] is recognised as a traditionist, being called a *musnid* by Al-Tinbuktī. He heard traditions from a number of authorities among whom were Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Ubaidallāh al-Ḥajrī al-Marī (505–591/1112–1195), and Abū Bakr b. Khair; but Ibn Khair's name does not appear in any of the chains in the MS. Al-Ḥajrī,[3] in whom the various lines converge, was a very noted authority. He belonged to Almeria, but his family is said to have come originally from Toledo. He rejected offers of influential positions in Almeria and Murcia, and eventually made Ceuta his home, where he was visited by large numbers because of his "high" *isnād*, his reliability, accuracy and insight regarding Tradition. A degree of sainthood was attributed to him. It is recorded that at the time when he died there was a drought, but that after prayers for rain were offered at his funeral in virtue of his merits, there was a copious fall that night.

In transmitting works of Tradition, authority of some kind is necessary. It may therefore be useful here to mention three words connected with this subject which will appear later. (1) *Ijāza*. When a *shaikh* is satisfied that his pupil knows what he has transmitted to him, he may say something like this, "I give you licence (*ajāza*) for such and such a book." This is the best type of *ijāza*. In other types the person or the book may not be so clearly specified, which is not so satisfactory.[4] (2) *Munāwala*. This word comes from the verb meaning to hand over. The *shaikh* gives the pupil his own copy, or one which has been compared with it, and says such words as, "This is what I heard (or transmit) from so and so, so transmit it from me." This is the best type of *munāwala*, as it is

[1] Not to be confused with the man of the same name mentioned in Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Supp. i, 638.

[2] Al-Tinbuktī, *Nail al-ibtihāj* (in margin of Ibn Farḥūn, *Al-dībāj al-mudhahhab*), p. 69; cf. *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes d'Espagne*, par Al-Maqqarī, i, 484, 931; cf. Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, No. 1130.

[3] Ghobrini, *Fonds*, iv, 148 ff.; Tinbuktī, *Nail*, 126 f.; *Takmila*, No. 1486.

[4] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *op. cit.*, 151 ff.

really a combination of *munāwala* and *ijāza*.[1] (3) *Wijāda*. One may find a book in the handwriting of a *shaikh* containing traditions which he transmitted. The finder may never have met him, or he may have met him but not heard him transmitting these traditions, and he has no licence to transmit them. In such circumstances he cannot say, "So and so said." He must say, "I found (read) in the handwriting of so and so."[2]

Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* has been transmitted through two main lines, that of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān (d. 308/920) and that of Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Qalānisī. From various sources one gathers that many people transmitted traditions from Muslim, but whether this refers to the whole *Ṣaḥīḥ* is not made clear. Al-Nawawī, in his Biographical Dictionary, mentions some people who transmitted traditions from Muslim and says that there were others, but although he mentions Ibn Sufyān and Al-Qalānisī in his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he mentions neither of them here.[3] Al-Dhahabī also mentions a number, including Ibn Sufyān, but not Al-Qalānisī.[4] Al-'Asqalānī does the same.[5] But while various people are said to have transmitted from Muslim, Ibn Sufyān and Al-Qalānisī are the only ones who are generally recognized as authoritative transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. At later stages in the various chains one comes across many who received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from authorities, and there is no reason to doubt the information. Biographical notices give many such instances. But if one tried to amass all such notes, the attempt to trace the transmission would become very confused. It therefore seems best to confine the treatment to the three authorities quoted, as they give a sufficient variety of transmitters.

Ibn Sufyān's Version

Ibn Sufyān finished hearing the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muslim in Naisābūr in Ramaḍān, 257[6] (July–August, 871), i.e. about four years before Muslim's death. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is quoted by Al-Nawawī as indicating

[1] Ibid., 160 ff.

[2] Ibid., 168. A fuller account of the whole subject is given by Al-Nawawī in "Le Taqrīb de En Nawawi", *Journal Asiatique*, série ix, vol. 17, 196 ff.; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 168 ff.

[3] p. 550.

[4] *Taẕk.*, ii, 150.

[5] *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, x, 128.

[6] Al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ*, i, p. 7; Ibn Khair, *Fihrist*, p. 100.

a defect in the Ibn Sufyān version.[1] This applies to three portions in which he used the words *'an Muslim* instead of *akhbaranā Muslim*, or *ḥaddathanā Muslim*, without indicating how he got them, whether by way of licence to transmit (*ijāza*), or by taking them from a written copy (*wijāda*). The portions are (1) xv, 318–425; (2) xxv, 1–xxvii, 6; (3) xxxiii, 43–xxxiv, 9. This version is transmitted through two men, Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Amrūya al-Julūdī[2] (*c.* 288–368/900–979) and Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kisā'ī (d. 384/994, or 385/995).

1. *Al-Julūdī's Text*

Al-Julūdī's text is transmitted by three lines, those of 'Abd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ghāfir[3] (353–448/964–1056), Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāzī (*fl.* early fifth century), and Abū Sa'īd 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwud al-Sijzī (alive early in fifth century). 'Abd al-Ghāfir got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Julūdī in 365/975. No information is given regarding the time when Al-Rāzī received it. Al-Sijzī is said to have got it from Al-Julūdī in Naisābūr in 369/979.[4] Al-Nawawī says that Al-Julūdī died in Dhul Qa'da, 368, and Al-Sam'ānī says that he died in Dhul Ḥijja, 368. Both agree that his death took place towards the end of 368, and if their information is correct Ibn Khair, who tells us that he got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in 369, must be mistaken. No doubt we may assume that, towards the end of his life, Al-Julūdī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Al-Sijzī; but an interesting question arises. Ibn Khair quotes Al-Sijzī as saying, "Abū Aḥmad al-Julūdī informed us, I reading it to him, in the year 369 in Naisābūr." These are presumably his own words, and he seems to have made a mistake about the date. If an authority can be mistaken about such a detail, may he not possibly make errors elsewhere? If that is so, the high esteem in which oral transmission is held seems hardly to be deserved. But it should be added that there is always the possibility that Al-Nawawī and Al-Sam'ānī are wrong. Ibn al-Athīr[5] places the death of al-Julūdī at the end of 369.

In what follows I shall not spend time over the men who figure in the chains, but give such information as is available regarding the manner in which the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was transmitted.

[1] Sharḥ, i, p. 8.
[2] Sharḥ, i, 6.
[3] Sharḥ, i, 6 f.; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 133a.
[4] Fabricius, 100.
[5] viii, 226.

(a) *The version of 'Abd al-Ghāfir.*

Al-Nawawī says that he received the whole *Ṣaḥīḥ* from his *shaikh* Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. abī Ḥafṣ b. Muḍar al-Wāsiṭī[1] (d. 664/1266) in the congregational mosque in Damascus, from Abul Qāsim Abū Bakr Abul Fatḥ Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ṣā'idī al-Farāwī[2] (522–608/1128–1212), from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Farāwī[3] (*c.* 441–530/1049–1136), from Abul Ḥusain 'Abd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī in 448, from Al-Julūdī in 365, from Ibn Sufyān, from Muslim in Ramaḍān, 257. He uses *akhbaranā* in each instance.

Ibn Khair says that he got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī[4] (468–543/1076–1148), reading it over to him; also from Mūsā b. Sayyid[5] in the congregational mosque in Algeciras in Dhul Qa'da, 534, reading it to Mūsā from his copy; also from Abul Ḥasan 'Abbād b. Sarḥān[6] (464–543/1071–1148) by receiving his copy; and also from Abul Ḥakam 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Malik[7] (d. 541/1147), with *ijāza* to transmit it. These four all got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Ṭabarī[8] (d. 498/1104). Ibn al-'Arabī heard Al-Ṭabarī and had a copy handed to him (*samā'*[an] *wa-munāwalat*[an]). Mūsā and 'Abbād heard Al-Ṭabarī reciting the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān received *ijāza* from him. Ibn al-'Arabī heard it also from Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān,[9] who got it from Abul Laith Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan al-Tankutī[10] (406–471/1015–1078), both using *akhbaranā*.[11] Al-Ṭabarī and Al-Tankutī got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from 'Abd al-Ghāfir, and 'Abd al-Ghāfir from Al-Julūdī, *akhbaranā* being used in each instance. But only *'an* is used to indicate how Al-Julūdī and Ibn Sufyān received the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

The author of *Kitāb al-imtā'* heard part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū Ya'qūb Ṣafī al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Ghumārī al-Ḥassānī,[12] and

[1] *Sharḥ*, i, 5.
[2] Ibid., Yāqūt, *Geogr. Wörterb.*, iii, 866 f.
[3] *Sharḥ*, i, 5 f.; *Geogr. Wörterb.*, iii, 866.
[4] Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, No. 1181; Dhahabī, *Tadhk.*, iv, 86 ff.; Makkarī, i, 477 ff.
[5] *Takmila*, No. 2145.
[6] *Ṣila*, No. 970.
[7] Ibid., No. 750
[8] *Ṣila*, No. 1161; Ḥ. Kh., vii, 561; Makkarī, i, 478.
[9] Cf. *Geogr. Wörterb.*, ii, 936, iv, 800.
[10] *Ṣila*, No. 1285; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, No. 1392; *Geogr. Wörterb.*, i, 880.
[11] The use of this word properly indicates personal contact. See Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *'Ulūm*, 140 f.; Tahānawī, *Dict. of Tech. Terms*, 282.
[12] Tinbuktī, *Nail*, 352.

received *ijāza* to transmit the whole. Ṣafī al-Dīn uses *akhbaranā* in telling how he received it from Najm al-Dīn abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Sālim b. Sallām, who is said to have heard Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī,[1] known as Ibn Ṣadaqa, who got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Farāwī; but from Ibn Ṣadaqa up to Muslim (the chain being the same as Al-Nawawī's given above), only *'an* is used. Another source was Sirāj al-Dīn al-Tamīmī from 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥarastānī[2] (520–614/1126–1218), from Al-Farāwī; but once again only *'an* is used. Al-Ḥajrī got this version from Ibn al-'Arabī, Abul Ṭāhir al-Silafī[3] (c. 475–576/1082–1180), and Abū Bakr b. al-Khallūf[4] (466–541/1073–1147), using *akhbaranī* of the manner in which he got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from them; but only *'an* is used to tell how they got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Fārisī. He, however, uses *akhbaranā* to tell how he got it from Al-Julūdī.

(b) *The version of Al-Rāzī.*

Ibn Khair received Al-Rāzī's version by two distinct lines. He got it from Abul Ḥasan Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. Mughīth[5] (447–532/1055–1138), hearing all except a little at the end read to him, but receiving *ijāza* to transmit, and having a copy of the whole handed to him. Ibn Mughīth got it from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-Ma'āfirī al-Ṣairafī[6] (d. 481/1088), reading it over to him. Abū 'Abdallāh got it in Egypt from Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. Sa'd b. Bakr al-Anṣārī[7] (360–448/970–1056) and copied it out from his book. Al-Anṣārī got it from Al-Rāzī, and from here up to Muslim *akhbaranā* alone is used. Ibn Khair got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* also from Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir al-Qaisī[8] (449–542/1057–1147), hearing part of it from him and receiving his *ijāza* for the whole. Abū Bakr got it from Abū 'Alī Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī[9] (427–498/1036–1105), reading it over to him. Abū 'Alī got it from Abul 'Abbās al-'Udhrī[10] (393–478/1003–1085), reading it over to him in Valencia during Rajab and Sha'bān, 470/1078. Al-'Udhrī uses *akhbaranā* in saying that he received the

[1] Cf. Ibn Khall. (De Slane), ii, 353. [2] *Geogr. Wörterb.*, ii, 241.
[3] Dhahabi, *Tadh.*, iv, 80 ff.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat*, No. 472.
[4] Dabbī, No. 1470; *Takmila*, No. 2040; *Ghāyat*, No. 3836.
[5] Ṣila, No. 1402; Dabbī, No. 1510; Ibn al-Abbār, *Mu'jam*, No. 313.
[6] Ṣila, No. 1102; cf. *Ghāyat*, No. 3406. [7] Ṣila, No. 601; cf. Dabbī, No. 968.
[8] Ṣila, No. 1128. [9] Ṣila, No. 226; Dhahabi, *Tadh.*, iv, 80 ff.
[10] Ṣila, No. 130; *Geogr. Wörterb.*, ii, 462 f.

Ṣaḥīḥ from Al-Rāzī. This second line has a sub-division, as Ibn Khair received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* also from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaimān b. Aḥmad al-Nafzī al-Mālaqī [1] (437–525/ 1045–1130) by *munāwala*. Al-Nafzī got it from Al-'Udhrī, hearing it from him twice. This sub-division is shorter than the other by one link.

In *Kitāb al-imtā'* there is only one chain from Al-Rāzī. Abul 'Abbās al-'Azafī both heard Al-Ḥajrī read it and read it over to him. Al-Ḥajrī heard it from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Zughaiba al-Kilābī [2] (450–528/1058–1134) in his mosque in Almeria. Al-Kilābī heard it from Al-'Udhrī in the congregational mosque in Almeria, and Al-'Udhrī heard it from Al-Rāzī in Mecca in 409/1018. The interesting feature of this chain is that up to this point the verb *sami'a* is used. It is also used of Ibn Sufyān getting the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muslim.

(c) *The version of Al-Sijzī.*

Ibn Khair begins his account of the transmission through Al-Sijzī by saying that Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by *munāwala* from Abul Qāsim Ḥātim b. Muḥammad al-Ṭarābulusī [3] (378–469/ 988–1077), who got it from Al-Sijzī in 403/1012. He uses *akhbaranī*, which suggests that he was alone when he heard Al-Sijzī.[4] Al-Sijzī got it from Al-Julūdī, reading it over to him, in 369/979. This chain begins with Al-Ghassānī, and as it immediately follows Al-Rāzī's chain which Ibn Khair begins with Abū Bakr al-Qaisī, one may assume that he got both Al-Rāzī's and Al-Sijzī's versions from him. Ibn Khair received Al-Sijzī's version also from Abū Muḥammad b. 'Attāb [5] (433–520/1041–1126), receiving *ijāza* for what he had copied out for him. Ibn 'Attāb received *ijāza* from Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd al-Shantajālī [6] (d. 436/1045) and Abul Qāsim al-Ṭarābulusī, who both use *akhbaranā* about the manner in which they received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Sijzī.

In *Kitāb al-imtā'* this version comes to Al-Ḥajrī by only one line. He received it from Abū Marwān b. Masarra [7] (d. 552/1157), who

[1] *Ṣila*, No. 1158.
[2] *Ṣila*, No. 1159; Ḍabbī, No. 205; *Mu'jam*, No. 100.
[3] *Ṣila*, No. 351; Ḍabbī, No. 658.
[4] Cf. Tahānawī, p. 282.
[5] *Ṣila*, No. 744; Ḍabbī, No. 986; Ibn Farḥūn, *Al-dībāj al-mudhahhab*, p. 150.
[6] *Ṣila*, No. 593, where *Shantajyālī* is the form given; Ḍabbī, No. 926, where Al-'Udhrī and Al-Ṭarābulusī are both said to have transmitted from him; cf. *Geogr. Wörterb.*, iii, 327; *Dībāj*, p. 140.
[7] *Ṣila*, No. 773; Ḍabbī, No. 1079; *Mu'jam*, No. 233.

got it from Ibn 'Attāb from Al-Ṭarābulusī. In both instances simply 'an is used. As in Ibn Khair, Al-Ṭarābulusī reports that he received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Sijzī in Mecca in 403, the only difference in the wording being that he uses *akhbaranā* here instead of *akhbaranī*. In *Al-isnād* the reading which follows is *'anil Julūdī*.

II. *Al-Kisā'ī's Text*

Al-Nawawī quotes the opinion that those after Al-Julūdī who claimed to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Sufyān are not reliable.[1] This fully accounts for his ignoring Al-Kisā'ī. Indeed, one wonders how Al-Kisā'ī can be reckoned among those who received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Sufyān, for he died in 384 or 385, whereas Ibn Sufyān died in 308; yet he is normally recognized as an authoritative transmitter.[2] But there are some who suggest that he is unreliable. Al-'Asqalānī includes him in a work which deals with weak traditionists.[3] Al-Kisā'ī was reputed to have in his possession in old age a copy of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in a new book, which was looked upon with great suspicion. Al-Sam'ānī quotes him as saying that his father had taken him to hear Ibn Sufyān, but that he had been very young and had fallen asleep.[4] His text comes by two lines, that of Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā' al-Nasawī and that of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣiqillī.

(a) *The version of Al-Nasawī.*

Ibn Khair gives the name as Al-Qasawī,[5] an obvious mistake. A little information is given about him by Ibn al-Jazarī,[6] but no dates are given. He studied with 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī (283–381/896–992); and Abul Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī (371–454/981–1062), son of Abul 'Abbās al-Rāzī who transmitted from Al Julūdī, studied with him.

Ibn Khair got this version from Abū Muḥammad b. 'Attāb, and as this follows immediately on his telling how he received *ijāza* from Ibn 'Attāb for Al-Sijzī's version, he may have received *ijāza* for Al-Nasawī's version also, although he does not say so. Ibn

[1] Ṣaḥīḥ, i. p. 7.
[2] Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, ii. 337, says he transmitted Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Sufyān, but his presence in such a work suggests that his authority is doubtful.
[3] *Lisān al-mīzān*, v. 20 f.
[4] *Ansāb*, 522a.
[5] *Fahrasa*, p. 100.
[6] *Ghāyat*, No. 631.

'Attāb got it from Abū Muḥammad Makkī b. Abū Ṭālib [1] (355–437/966–1045) with *ijāza* to transmit. Only *'an* is used of Makkī receiving it from Al-Nasawī. Al-Nasawī uses *akhbaranā* of the way in which he got it from Al-Kisā'ī, but of Al-Kisā'ī and Ibn Sufyān only *'an* is used.

In *Kitāb al-imtā'* Al-Ḥajrī uses *akhbaranā* of the manner in which he received this version from a number of authorities, of whom he names Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bārī al-Qurṭubī al-Biṭraujī [2] (d. 542/1147), Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Khalaf b. al-Nafīs al-Ḥimyarī al-Gharnāṭī, known as Ibn al-Khallūf [3] (466–541/1073–1147), and Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ma'mar al-Madhḥijī [4] (d. 537/1143). They all transmitted from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Faraj, known as the client of Al-Ṭalā' [5] (404–497/1014–1104), *'an* being used. Abū 'Abdallāh got it from Makkī, who appears in Ibn Khair's chain, but once again *'an* alone is used. The additional information is given, however, that Makkī got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Nasawī, hearing it from him (*samā'an 'alaihi*).

Before giving the chains traced to Al-Kisā'ī, *Al-imtā'* gives a partial chain from Al-Ḥajrī, going back to Makkī. The manner in which it is introduced suggests that it is a branch of the transmission from Al-Sijzī, but as Makkī does not appear in that connection, it seems necessary to relate this to the transmission through Al-Nasawī. Al-Ḥajrī uses *akhbaranā* of the manner in which the *Ṣaḥīḥ* came to him from the *wazīr* Abū 'Abdallāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Makkī [6] (*c.* 450–535/1058–1140). He got it from his father, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad [7] (414–474/1024–1081) and from Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Sarrāj [8] (400–489/1009–1096), who both got it from Abū Muḥammad Makkī. Only *'an* is used.

(*b*) *The version of Al-Ṣiqillī.*

The other line from Al-Kisā'ī comes through Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṣiqillī, about whom

[1] *Ṣila*, No. 1276; *Ghāyat*, No. 3645.
[2] *Ṣila*, No. 178; *Geogr. Wörterb.*, i, 663, where Al-Biṭraughī is given.
[3] Ḍabbī, No. 1470; *Mu'jam*, No. 302; *Takmila*, No. 2040; *Ghāyat*, No. 3836.
[4] *Ṣila*, No. 1174; *Takmila*, No. 622.
[5] *Ṣila*, No. 1123; Ḍabbī, No. 256; *Geogr. Wörterb.*, i, 663, etc.
[6] *Ṣila*, No. 294; *cf.* Ḍabbī, No. 617.
[7] *Ṣila*, No. 1068.
[8] *Ṣila*, 771; *cf.* Ḍabbī, No. 1068.

I have discovered no information. Ibn Khair, evidently using the same chain as in the transmission from Al-Sijzī, says that Al-Ṭarābulusī got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Ṣiqillī, using *ḥaddaṯanī bihi*. Al-Ṣiqillī says that Al-Kisā'ī informed him of it in Naisābūr in 382/992, that Al-Kisā'ī said Ibn Sufyān informed him of it in 308/920, and that Ibn Sufyān said that Muslim finished reading the book to him in Naisābūr on 10th Ramaḍān, 257/871.

Kitāb al-imtā' gives a chain from Al-Ḥajrī to Al-Ṣiqillī, using *'an* in each instance. Al-Ḥajrī received it from Abū Fihr, whom I have not identified, and from Abul Walīd Hishām b. Aḥmad b. Hishām al-Hilālī, known as Ibn Baqwa [1] (444–530/1052–1136). They both received it from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. al-Murābiṭ [2] (395–485/1004–1092), who received it from Abū 'Amr al-Dānī [3] (371–444/981–1053), who received it from Al-Ṣiqillī.

Al-Qalānisī's Version

The other main line of transmission comes through Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Mughīra al-Qalānisī, who transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashqar, who transmitted it to Abul 'Alā' 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Īsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Māhān. Al-Nawawī quotes Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ to the effect that this version is the one current in the West, but is unknown elsewhere.[4] I have discovered nothing about Al-Qalānisī or Al-Ashqar beyond the fact that Al-Ashqar transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Ibn Māhān in Naisābūr.[5] The chains branch off from Ibn Māhān. He travelled widely and heard many authorities on Tradition. Eventually he settled in Egypt, remaining there till his death, transmitting Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Ashqar. He died in 387/997.[6] Ibn al-Najjār quotes Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī as saying that Al-Dāraquṭnī recommended the people of Egypt to write down Ibn Māhān's version, describing him as a man of authority and discrimination.[7]

[1] Ṣila, No. 1230; Dabbī, No. 1425; *Dībāj*, p. 348.
[2] Ṣila, No. 1107; cf. Dabbī, No. 103; *Gesch. Wörterb.*, iii, 924.
[3] Ṣila, No. 873; Ibnabbī, *Faqih.*, iii, 296 ff.; cf. Dabbī, No. 1185; Ḥ. Kh., ii, 369, etc.
[4] Sharḥ, i, p. 8.
[5] *Fihrist*, p. 101.
[6] Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhail Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, x, 67. I am indebted to Khalīl Mardam Bey who copied out for me from this work the notice on Ibn Māhān. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 157, says Ibn Māhān died in 388.
[7] Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 102.

Ibn Māhān's Text

Ibn Māhān's text is partly indebted to Al-Julūdī's, for he got the last part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, from the tradition of the Lie (xlix, 56) to the end, from Al-Julūdī.[1] His text is transmitted through four lines.

(*a*) *The version of Ibn al-Ḥadhdhā'.*

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥadhdhā' al-Tamīmī (347–416/958–1025) belonged to Cordova. In 372/983 he made the Pilgrimage and in the course of his journey he met Ibn Māhān and received the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from him. He was a leading man in the learned world in Spain.[2] He is the only transmitter from Ibn Māhān whom Al-Nawawī mentions by name, but he adds that there were others.

Ibn Khair got this version from Abū Bakr al-Qaisī in the same manner as he received Al-Sijzī's version. Abū Bakr got it from Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī, using *akhbaranā*. Abū 'Alī got it from Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥadhdhā' al-Tamīmī[3] (380–467/990–1074), reading it over to him in 457/1065, and Abū 'Umar got it from his father, Abū 'Abdallāh, in 395/1004. From Abū 'Umar up to Muslim *akhbaranā* is used. Ibn Khair got this version also from Abū Muḥammad b. 'Attāb, receiving his *ijāza* to transmit it. Ibn 'Attāb received *ijāza* from Abū 'Umar b. al-Ḥadhdhā'. This branch is one link shorter than the other.

In *Kitāb al-imtā'* Al-Ḥajrī is said to have received this version from Abū 'Abdallāh b. abī Iḥdā 'Ashra[4] (d. 532/1138), and from the *wazīr* and *faqīh* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz[5] (d. 536/1142), reading it over to them, and to others who are unspecified, and receiving *ijāza* to transmit it. These two received it from Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī, only *'an* being used from this point till the end of the chain, which agrees with Ibn Khair's.

(*b*) *The version of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Bājī.*

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Bājī[6]

[1] *Sharḥ*, i, p. 8; *Fihrist*, p. 101; *Imtā'*, f. 8*ab*.
[2] Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, No. 1678.
[3] *Ṣila*, No. 131; cf. Ḍabbī, No. 349.
[4] Ḍabbī, No. 87.
[5] *Ṣila*, No. 1172.
[6] Makkarī, i, p. 603; Faraḍī, No. 1718.

(356–433/967–1041) belonged to Seville. He travelled to the East with his father and spent some time in Egypt. No date is given for this journey.

Ibn Khair got this version from Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Lakhmī al-Bājī [1] (447–532/1055–1138), hearing him twice. 'Abd al-Malik got it from his father, his paternal uncles, Abū 'Umar Aḥmad and Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad,[2] and his cousin, Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad [3] (d. 478/1085), using *ḥaddathanī*. They all got it from Abū 'Abdallāh al-Bājī, *akhbaranā* being used. Abū 'Abdallāh said that he heard Ibn Māhān in Egypt. Ibn Māhān got it from Al-Ashqar in Naisābūr, using *akhbaranā*. Al-Ashqar and Al-Qalānisī both use *akhbaranā* of the manner in which they got it.

Kitāb al-imtā' says that Al-Ḥajrī got this version from Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Azdī,[4] reading over much of it to him and receiving his *ijāza* for the remainder. Al-Azdī says that he heard it (*sami'tuhu*) from Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh, who uses *akhbaranā* of the manner in which he got it from his grandfather, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Bājī. It is interesting to note that in *Kitāb al-imtā'* Abū 'Abdallāh says he got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Māhān *qirā'atan 'alaihi bi-Miṣr*, whereas in Ibn Khair's account he says *samā'an 'alaihi ma'a abī raḥimahu 'llāh bi-Miṣr*.

(c) *The version of Abul Ḥakam al-Mundhir.*

Abul Ḥakam al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir b. 'Alī al-Ḥijāzī or Al-Kinānī [5] (340–423/951–1032) belonged to the town of Faraj in Spain. He travelled to the East and performed the Pilgrimage. Ibn Bashkuwāl speaks of him hearing from authorities in Egypt, but does not mention Ibn Māhān. He was a great searcher after knowledge, but had a reputation for carelessness.

Ibn Khair does not give this version; it comes from *Kitāb al-imtā'*. Al-Ḥajrī got it from Abū Muḥammad b. 'Aṭīya [6] (481–542/1088–1147), Ibn abī Ibdā 'Ashra, and others (unspecified), using *akhbaranā kulluhum*. These two got it from Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Buryāl al-Ḥijāzī [7] (416–502/1025–1109), from Al-Mundhir. Only *'an* is used of 'Abd al-Bāqī, Al-Mundhir

[1] Ṣila, No. 774. [2] Tukmila, No. 491. [3] Ṣila, No. 622.
[4] Cf. Fihrist, p. 426. [5] Ṣila, No. 1259.
[6] Ṣila, No. 825; Geogr. Wörterb., ii, 630; GAL., Supp., i, 722.
[7] Ṣila, No. 822; Dabbī, No. 1125; Geogr. Wörterb., iv, 875.

and Ibn Māhān as sources of the information, but Ibn Māhān and Al-Aghqar both use *akhbaranā*.

(*d*) *The version of Abul Qāsim Aḥmad b. Fatḥ.*

Abul Qāsim Aḥmad b. Fatḥ [1] (319–403/931–1012) belonged to Cordova. While he was on Pilgrimage he met Ibn Māhān in Egypt and received Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from him.

Kitāb al-imtā' does not give this version; it comes from Ibn Khair, who got it from Abū Muḥammad b. 'Attāb, receiving *ijāza* from him. Abū Muḥammad got it from his father, Muḥammad b. 'Attāb [2] (383–462/994–1069), it being read over to him in Abū Muḥammad's hearing a few times. Muḥammad b. 'Attāb got it from Ibn Fatḥ, using *akhbaranā*. Ibn Fatḥ uses *akhbaranā* of the manner in which he got it from Ibn Māhān.

Conclusion

In considering the accounts of the transmission, one is impressed by the details given and the care shown in describing the manner in which transmitters received the material. Sometimes the exact date and place of its reception are given. Frequently reference is made to the granting of *ijāza*, although sometimes this is given for the transmission of portions which had not been heard. Commonly *akhbaranā* or *ḥaddathanā* is used, indicating personal contact. When *'an* is used, one cannot be sure whether it is meant to indicate that the method of transmission is unknown, or whether it is used for brevity. When, for example, *'an* is used of Al-Julūdī getting the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Ibn Sufyān and of Ibn Sufyān getting it from Muslim, brevity is certainly the reason, as it is well known that these were authorized transmitters.

But while such care is shown, there are questions which naturally arise. Al-Nawawī's chain presents some difficulties. Abū Isḥāq died fifty-six years after Manṣūr from whom he received the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, but this may probably raise no problem. Manṣūr, however, was only eight when his great-grandfather, Al-Farāwī, from whom he received the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, died. But Al-Nawawī tells us that Manṣūr transmitted from his father and his grandfather as well as from his great-grandfather, and therefore one may reasonably suggest that in his effort to make the chain as short as possible, Al-Nawawī

[1] *Ṣila*, No. 41. [2] *Ṣila*, No. 1077; *cf.* Dabbī, No. 241.

has omitted a link.[1] He tells us next that in the year in which Al-Fārisī died Al-Farāwī got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from him, which means that he got it round about the age of seven. Al-Fārisī got the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Al-Julūdī in 365, i.e. at the age of twelve, which is perhaps not so unlikely.

Ibn Khair credits Abū Muḥammad b. 'Attāb with transmitting Al-Kisā'ī's version from Abū Muḥammad Makkī, although he was only four years old when Makkī died; and with transmitting Al-Sijzī's version from Al-Shantajālī who died when Ibn 'Attāb was three. Ibn Bashkuwāl, a contemporary of Ibn Khair, agrees with him in saying that Ibn 'Attāb received *ijāza* from Al-Shantajālī,[2] although he says in the same notice that Ibn 'Attab was born in 433, and elsewhere in the same book that Al-Shantajālī died in 436.[3]

Kitāb al-imtā' gives Al-Ḥarastānī as a transmitter from Muḥammad al-Farāwī, yet he was only ten years old when Al-Farāwī died. Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Bāqī, who transmitted Ibn Māhān's version from Al-Mundhir, was only seven years old when Al-Mundhir died.

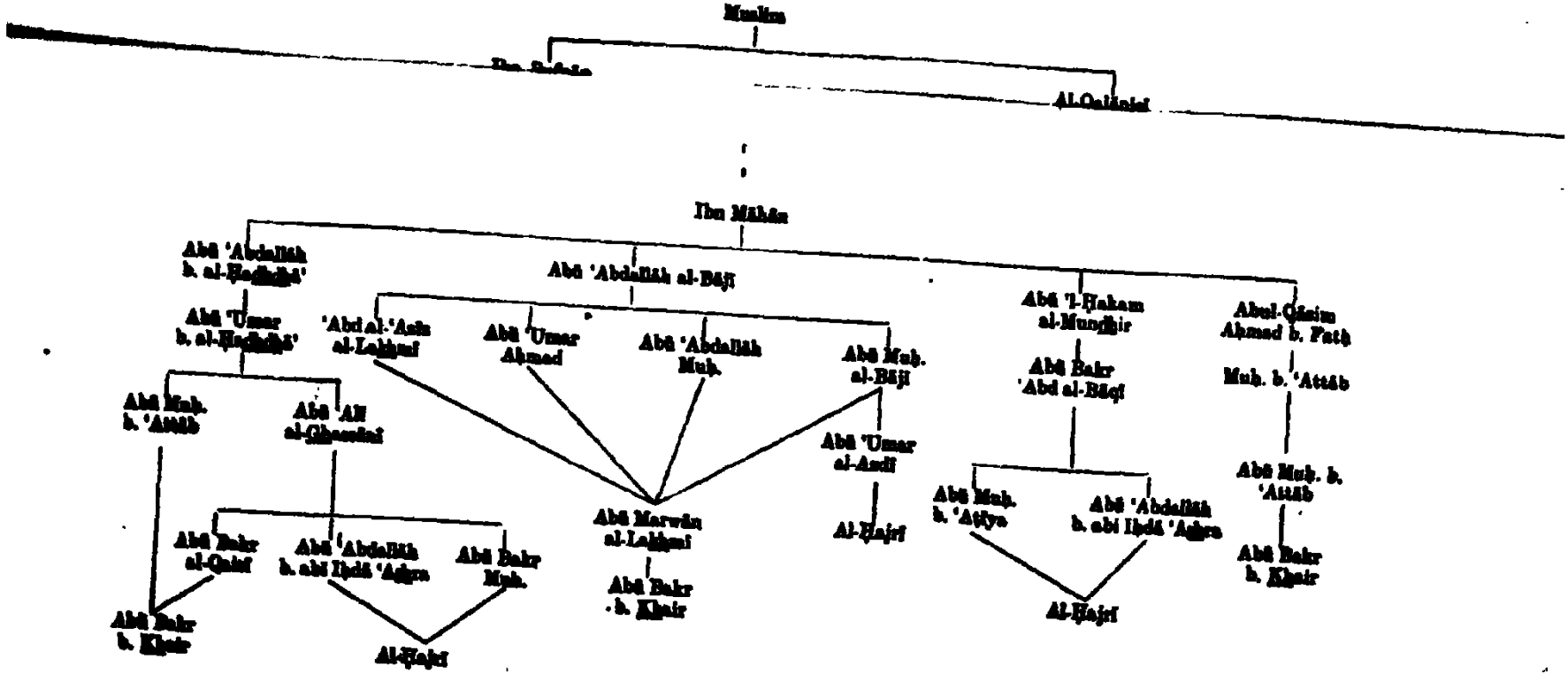
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ discusses the earliest age at which a boy may hear traditions, and declares that traditionists of later periods are agreed that it is five. He adds that everyone must be judged on his own merits. If he can understand what is said and reply to questions, what he transmits is accepted as sound, even if he is under five. Otherwise it is not accepted, whether he is five, or even fifty.[4] People who have the care of young children know how particular they are about verbal accuracy in stories which they have heard and which are being repeated to them. So it may be that Eastern children are as capable of being accurate in remembering traditions as Western children are in remembering fairy tales.

[1] Al-Nawawī is proud of the fact that only six names appear in the chain between himself and Muslim. He notes that all the transmitters were long-lived and were connected with Nasābūr (*Sharḥ*, i, p. 5).

[2] *Ṣila*, No. 744.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 893.

[4] *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth*, p. 139. When discussing *ijāza* (p. 156), he mentions that it has been considered allowable to grant it to someone and to those who will be born to him: so to him and his son and his descendants.


Muslim
Al-Qušairī
Ibn Mākūla
Abū 'Abdallāh al-Bāǧī
Abū 'Umar b. al-Ḥaddāʾ
'Abd al-'Azīz al-Lahǧamī
Abū 'Umar Aḥmad
Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥ.
Abū Muḥ. al-Bāǧī
Abū 'l-Ḥakam al-Mundḏir
Abul-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Faṭḥ
Abū Muḥ. b. 'Attāb
Abū 'Umar al-Asadī
Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Bāqī
Abū Muḥ. b. 'Attāb
Abū Bakr al-Qaṭīʿī
Abū 'Abdallāh b. abī Ibdā 'Aǧūz
Abū Bakr Muḥ.
Abū Marwān al-Lahǧamī
Al-Ḥaǧarī
Abū Muḥ. b. 'Aṭīya
Abū 'Abdallāh b. abī Ibdā 'Aǧūz
Abū Bakr b. Ḫair
Abū Bakr b. Ḫair
Al-Ḥaǧarī
Al-Ḥaǧarī

[To face p. 69

IVORY HEAD FROM LUCKNOW, (*a*) FULL FACE, (*b*) PROFILE.

A Small Ivory Head from Lucknow

By REGINALD LE MAY

(PLATE VIII)

IN February, 1923, I was staying in Lucknow as a member of an official mission from Siam studying Rural Co-operative Credit in Northern India. One morning I was taken by my host on a visit to the Lucknow market, and I brought away with me three "prizes", the first, a very delicate picture of a Mohammedan Saint, with Koran and rosary, sitting outside a rocky cell, by that famous painter of Shah Jahan's time, Mansūr; the second, a miniature of Nur Jahan, which has since been set in an ivory frame surrounded by sapphires; and the third, a small ivory head, the subject of this note.

This head is 1¾ inches high and has taken on such a deep brown hue that, judging from the length of time that it takes ivory to colour, it must be of considerable age. I have, for comparison, a carved wand of office from China, cut straight from the centre of an elephant's tusk, which is almost exactly of the same tone, and which has been placed in the Ming period, about fifteenth century.

The modelling of the head is remarkably fine, especially of the cheeks and the hair, but, although it has been examined by many people of erudition and understanding, both private and official, no one has yet been able to ascribe to it an origin or a racial type.

As will be seen from the photographs illustrated here, the forehead is extremely low, the nose is long and rather flat, the mouth is small, the chin is curved and receding, while the cheek-bones are high. The hair is long and parted in lanky waves, and the ears, which are flat, are almost hidden.

There has been much speculation about the two pin-points in the eyes. They naturally suggest pupils, but personally, judging from the skill of the craftsman in modelling, I cannot accept this and, if one looks at the profile, I think it reasonable to assume that the eyes are closed. If this is so, these pin-points may have some symbolical significance.

Where was this beautiful head made and what race of man, if any, does it represent?

I have no suggestion to offer but a completely open mind on the

subject. I am, therefore, publishing these two photographs in the hope that someone, more enlightened than myself, can solve the problem, which for twenty-five years has remained a complete mystery to me.

More about the Marsden Manuscripts in the British Museum

By C. R. BOXER

APART from a few brief notes of a general nature, the Marsden manuscripts were first described in any detail as a collective whole, by Father H. Hosten, S.J., in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, August, 1910 (New Series, vol. vi, No. 8, pp. 437–461) from material supplied to him by Messrs. Philipps and Beveridge. With the transfer of the most valuable portion of William Marsden's magnificent Library from King's College to the School of Oriental Studies in 1918, the Marsden MSS., both those in the British Museum and those now in the School, formed the topic of two articles in the *Bulletin of the S.O.S.*—the first by Sir Denison Ross in vol. ii, pp. 513–538 (1923), and the second by Father Hosten, S.J., in vol. iii, pp. 129–150 (1925). A few years later Sir Edward Maclagan, who had already published some documents in extract in the *JASB.* for 1896, catalogued those dealing with Northern India and Bengal amongst the Letters and Reports which he listed on pp. 369–388 of his standard work, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932).

These three writers were primarily interested in India or Abyssinia, so they naturally did not concern themselves with those documents dealing with the Far East. Unlike my predecessors, it is the Jesuit mission-fields from Malacca to Japan which chiefly attract me, so the Indian balance of former investigators is now tipped on the other side. I have not, however, omitted the Indian MSS., since my object has been to give a complete catalogue of the Marsden manuscripts dealing with the Jesuit missions in Asia as a whole. It is intended for the benefit of those who cannot directly consult the originals, but who wish to obtain a clear idea of their scope. In order to enable students to decide whether any given MSS. has been published, in whole or in part, I have made a tentative concordance with the works of Maclagan (*Jesuits and the Great Mogul*), and Streit (*Bibliotheca Missionum*, vols. iv and v, Aachen, 1928–9), which I hope will prove useful in this respect.

It only remains to add that although the reader will see from

this concordance that a number of the documents have been printed in one form or another, the published versions are mainly abbreviated translations; whereas these Marsden manuscripts are the *original* Portuguese records taken from the Jesuit Archives at Goa, after the dissolution of the Company of Jesus in the Lusitanian domains by Pombal in 1759. Who subsequently stole them I cannot say, but it certainly was not Marsden, who was then only five years old.

Additional MSS. 9852.

fls. 1-37. *Sumario de las cosas que pertençen a la Prouincia de la India Oriental y al gouerno della compuesto por el padre Alexandro Valignano Visitador della, y dirigido a N. Padre General Euerardo Mercuriano en el Año de 1579.* The year *1579* has been added in another hand, and erroneously, as can be seen from the conclusion of this treatise on fl. 37 where the date of completion is given as August, 1580. Valignano made an expanded version of this preliminary report which he sent to the new Jesuit General, Claudio Aquaviva, nearly four years later. There is a copy at

fls. 38-68. *Sumario de las cosas que pertençen a la Prouincia de Jappon, y al gouerno della, compuesto por el padre Alexandro Valignano Visitador de las Indias de Oriente, dirigido a N. P. general Claudio Aquauiva.* Dated Cochin, 28th October, 1583. Portions of this work were embodied in his *Historia del Principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jesus en las Indias Orientales (1542-1564)*, edited and printed by J. Wicki, S.I., at Rome in 1944, but the bulk of it remains unpublished. An eighteenth century transcript of this document (made from another sixteenth century copy at Macao in 1745) is to be found at the Ajuda Library, Lisbon (*Jesuitas na Asia*, Codex 49-iv-56), and a much truncated version in the Public Library at Evora (Codex $\frac{cxvi}{2-11}$ a nr: 44, p. 21).

fls. 69-70. *Catalogo de las casas de Jappon y delo que cada año han menester*, n.d., n.p. but circa 1580.

There is an eighteenth century transcript of this piece in the Ajuda Library (*Jesuitas na Asia*, Codex 49-iv-56 at fl. 94).

fls. 71-88 *Consulta hecha en Jappon por el padre Alexandro Valeamano* [sic]. *Visitador de la Compañia de la India, en el año de 80 y 81.* Containing a detailed analysis of twenty-one problems connected with the Japan mission and raised at various missionary conferences held in Kyushu between October, 1580, and December,

1581, where such thorny topics were ventilated as whether missionaries of the Mendicant Orders should be allowed to help in the evangelization of Japan; whether native Japanese should be received into the Company of Jesus; how to avoid friction between Europeans and Japanese; the financial support which the mission derived from trading and so forth, all set out at great length with the arguments *pro* and *contra*.

fls. 89–96. *Resoluciones que el padre Visitador da açerca de los preguntos de la consulta que se hizo en Iappon en diversas partes el año de 1581.* Dated 16th January, 1582. Unsigned, but the last four lines appear to be in Valignano's autograph; the remainder of this piece, like the text of the rest of this codex, being written in a singularly neat hand by some contemporary copyist. These *Resolutions* contain Valignano's answers to the twenty-one problems propounded above, with the reasons for his decision, often expressed at great length. A very brief version of the *Consulta* and *Resoluciones* was printed in F. de Sousa *Oriente Conquistado*, vol. ii, pp. 533–552 (Lisboa, 1710). For a full list of Valignano's works cf. the article of Jack Braga, *The Panegyric of Alexander Valignano, S.J.*, on pp. 523–534 of vol. v of *Monumenta Nipponica* (Tokyo, 1942), and Pasquale d'Elia, S.I., *Fonti Ricciane*, vol. i, pp. 144–6 (Roma, 1942).

Additional MSS. 9853.

fls. 2–12. *Anua de Vice prouincia do Sul de 1601. Collegio de Cochim e suas residencias na vice Prouincia do Sul.* Mostly about Southern India and Bengal (Chatigão) but has a short final section entitled *Collegio de Nossa Senhora de Monte de Malaca* [e] *Residencias de Maluco e Amboino*, fls. 11v–12r, alluding to English ships and Javanese threatening Amboina. Written in a small neat hand, the ink acid having corroded the paper in parts. Unsigned. Dated Goa, 29th December, 1601.

Obviously the basis of Fernão Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annual* for 1600 and 1601, chapters x–xxii (Lisbon, 1603).

fls. 13–16. *Anua de Maluco e Amboino* [de 1602]. Divided into two parts; the first, *De Maluco de 602* (fls. 13*r* and *v*) is undated but signed Luis Fernandes, with last few words in his autograph. The second part, headed *Anua de Amboino*, is in the hand of the same copyist as the first, but is more extensive (fls. 14–16) and is signed and dated Lourenço Mansonio, Amboino, 10th May. No year is given but the context shows it to be 1602.

Printed in Fernão Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annual* for 1602 and 1603 (Lisboa, 1605), ch. xiv–xix.

fls. 17–20. *Algũs cousas de edificaçaõ do Padre Nuno Roiz Provincial que foy desta Provincia e faleceo sendo Reitor deste Collegio de São Paulo* [in Goa] *a 2ª vez em o primeiro de Março de 604.* The original draft, written in two different hands. fls. 18*v* and 19*r* are blank. Unsigned. Cf. *JAS. Bengal*, vol. vi (New Series), p. 442 (Calcutta, 1911), for further details.

fls. 22–31. *Annua do Sul de 602.* Mostly concerned with southern India, but has a section (fls. 29*v*–30) on *Residencia de Maluco e Amboino*, and another (30*v*–31*r*) on the *Residencia de Ceilão.* Undated and unsigned but obviously written up at Goa. Likewise utilised in Fernão Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annual*, op. cit.

fls. 32–5. *Relaçam da Christandade de S. Thomé feito pelo reverendo senhor Bispo Francisco Roz da Companhia de Jesus e primeiro Bispo latino daquella Christandade.* Another hand has added *Em Tempo de Matthias d'Albuquerque fez esta enformaçam feito pello Pe francisco Roz.* The ink acid has corroded the paper so badly that the whole is virtually illegible. Cf. R. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, vol. iv, p. 297 (Aachen, 1928).

fls. 36–61. *Annua da Vice Provincia do Malauar da India Oriental.* Another hand has added *pera saber na provincia de Goa.* Despite its title, this very lengthy report includes sections on Ceylon, Coromandel and Bengal, as well as Malacca (59), Moluccas, and Amboina (fl. 59–61). The letter is signed and dated Cochim, 15th January, 1604, by Manoel Roiz, but the bulk of it is by different copyists. The final section on Amboina includes a copy of part of Padre Lourenço Mansonio's letter of 10th May, 1602, on fls. 14–16 *supra.* For the Indian interest of this letter cf. *JAS. Bengal*, vi (New Series), pp. 444–7, and Streit, op. cit., pp. 18–19.

fls. 62–84. *Annua da Provincia do Malauar da India oriental do anno de 1604 e de 1605.* This extensive report is not confined to Malabar, but includes Coromandel, Bengal, Pegu, and (fls. 81–4) Malacca and the Moluccas. The ink acid has corroded the paper so badly in parts, that whole pages are virtually illegible. The report is dated Cochim, 25th September, 1605, and signed Manoel Roiz, though the text is not in his own handwriting but that of a copyist. It forms the basis of Book III, chapters 1–9 in Fernão Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annual* for 1604 and 1605 (Lisbon, 1607).

fls. 86–89. *Relação sobre a Serra.* An anonymous treatise,

apparently drafted in 1604, on the Nestorian or Saint Thomas Christians of Malabar. There appears to be something wrong with the original pagination. Probably a version of the *relação* of Bishop Francisco Ros embodied in Guerreiro, op. cit., ch. v.

fls. 100–119. *Annua da Prouincia de Cochim do anno de 1612.* Not confined to Southern India, but deals also with Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, and (fls. 116–117) Malacca and the Moluccas. Dated Cochim, 2nd December, 1612, and signed Pero Francisco, but the report is not in his handwriting but that of a copyist.

Probably the basis of the Italian Jesuit Relations for 1612, *apud* Streit, *Bibl. Miss.* v, pp. 67–9.

fls. 120–136 *Carta Annua da Prouincia do Malauar do anno de 1613 para o R. P. Geral Claudio Aquaviva.* Includes sections on Bengal and Pegu, but does not deal with the Far East. Dated Cochim, December, 1613, and signed "por commissão do Padre Prouincial" by M. Barradas. Ink acid has badly corroded the text in many places.

Manuel Barradas was the author of a treatise on Hindu mythology, *Liuro das Seitas dos Indias Orientaes* (Sloane MSS., 1820).

fls. 137–144. *Carta Annua da Prouincia do Malauar do anno de 615 para o M. R. P. Geral Claudio Aquaviva.* Has sections dealing with Malacca and the Moluccas on fls. 139–140. Dated Cochim, 20th November, 1615, and signed *por commissão do Padre Prouincial* by M. Barradas.

fls. 145–159. *Anũa da Prouincia de Cochim do anno de 619 para o MRP em xto P. Mutio Vitelleschi.* Signed and dated Cochim, 20th November, 1619, by Padre Manuel Barradas. Has a lengthy section on fls. 149–152 entitled *Collegio de Malaca, e missões do Macassar e Bima*, and a shorter one on fls. 152–3, *Residencias de Maluco.*

fls. 160–173. *Annua da Missão de Madurê dead'Outubro de 1656 te sept^ro de 659 ao Nosso Reverendo Padre Geral Gosuino Nickel.* Dated Trigerapally, 22nd July, 1659, and signed Antam de Proença. This is the holograph original.

Printed in French translation in Bertrand, *La Mission du Maduré*, iii, pp. 41–76, Paris, 1850.

Additional MSS. 9854.

fls. 1–4. A.L.s. of Padre Rodolfo dated *fulitepur* [Fatehpur Sikri], 27th September, 1582; addressed to the Jesuit Provincial Rui

Vicente. With seal. This letter has been printed more than once. Cf. *JAS. Bengal* (New Series), vol. vi, p. 452.

fl. 5. Portuguese translation of the Emperor Akbar's *farman* in favour of the Padre Provincial, February, 1583. Printed by E. D. Maclagan in the *JAS. Bengal*, vol. lxv, part i, pp. 38 ff. (Calcutta, 1896).

fls. 6–19. A.L.s. of Padre Jeronimo Xavier, Agra, 6th September, 1604, addressed to the Jesuit Provincial Padre Manoel da Veiga at Goa. Printed in extract in the *JAS. Bengal* vol. lxv, part i (Calcutta, 1896), by E. D. Maclagan.

fls. 20–9. A.L.s. of Padre Manoel Pinheiro, Lahore, 12th August, 1605, addressed to the Jesuit Provincial Padre Manoel da Veiga at Goa. Annexed is a Portuguese translation by Pinheiro of a *farman* given by order of "Jalaladin Mahomed, Great King and slayer of infidels". Printed in extract by E. D. Maclagan in *JAS. Bengal* (1896), pp. 98–106.

fls. 30–7. A.L. of Padre Manuel Pinheiro. Incomplete, since last page(s) missing; endorsed in another hand *12th August, 1605*. Obviously another *via* or draft of the foregoing. Cf. E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 373 (1932).

fls. 38–52. A.L.s. of Padre Jeronimo Xavier, Lahore, 25th September, 1606. Substance given in Guerreiro's *Relaçam Anual* for 1606 and 1607. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 373.

fls. 53–63. A.L.s. of Padre Jeronimo Xavier, Lahore, 5th August, 1607. Endorsed on verso of last leaf, "Points for the *Annual* [letter] of the Lahore Padres for the year 607." Substance given in Guerreiro, op. cit. Cf. Maclagan, p. 373.

fls. 64–76. A.L.s. of Padre Jeronimo Xavier, Agra, 24th September, 1608. Cf. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp. 374.

fls. 77–81. *Discurso, sobre a Prouincia de Indostan, chamada Magûl e corruptamente Mogôr, com declaraçaõ do Reino guzarate, e mais reinos de seu distrito, ordenado por Manoel Godinho de Eredia, cosmographo mor do estado da Indias Orientaes, Anno 1611.* This brief cosmographical description of Hindustan, the Mogul Empire and the principality of Gujarat, by the famous cartographer Manuel Godinho de Eredia, is a fuller version of the very sketchy chapter 10 (*Do Indostan*) in his *Declaraçam de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay*, etc., drawn up by him at Goa in 1613, and printed with a French translation by L. Janssen under the title of *Malaca, L'Inde Méridionale et le Cathay* (Brussels, 1882). Although unsigned, this

Discurso appears to be in the holograph of Manuel Godinho de Eredia, judging by other autograph documents of his which I have examined. I cannot find any reference to this particular MSS. in any likely source which I have consulted, and therefore presume it to be unpublished.

fls. 82–6. A.L.s. of Padre Jeronimo Xavier, Agra, 23rd September, 1613.

fls. 87–91. A.L.s. of Padre Francisco Corsi, Agra, 29th October, 1619, addressed to the Jesuit Padre Provincial Jacome de Medeiros at Goa.

For printed versions in Italian, Latin, and English, cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 376.

fls. 92–107. A.L.s. of Padre Antonio de Andrade, Agra, 14th August, 1623. Antonio de Andrade, S.J., founded the Tsaparang (Tibet) mission in the following year.

fls. 108–115. A.L.s. of Padre Francisco Corsi, Agra, 22nd January, 1627, with postscript dated *Agmir* (Ājmīr), 3rd April, 1627, Addressed to the Jesuit Provincial at Goa. Cf. Maclagan, op cit., p. 378.

fls. 116–132. *Relação d'algũas couzas que passarão na Missão do Mogol, desdo fim do anno 627, té ao dia presente 13 de junho do anno 1628.* (Narrative of some things which happened in the Mission of the Mogul, from the end of the year 1627 to this present day, 13th June, 1628.) Despite the reference to the 13th June, the report is actually dated Agra, 6th October, 1628, and signed by Francio Leam, in whose holograph it is. Cf. *JAS. Bengal*, xxxi, 1925, pp. 56–7.

fls. 133–6. *Annuae Literae Collegij Agrensis e missionis Mogorensis ; collectae ex parte anni 1648 e parte anni 1649.* This unsigned undated, and possibly unfinished annual report for 1648–9 on the Agra College and Mogul mission is in Latin throughout. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., pp. 381–2.

fls. 137–140. A.L.s. of Padre Antonio Botelho, Agra, 20th January 1652. Addressed to Padre Bento Ferreira. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit. pp. 382.

fls. 141–2. A.L.s. of Padre Antonio Botelho, Agra, 1st February, 1652, to Provincial at Goa. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., pp. 382.

fls. 143–4. A.L.s. of Padre Antonio Botelho, Agra, 1st February, 1652, addressed to Padre Bento Ferreira at Goa. With seal. A virtual duplicate of the foregoing.

fls. 145–8. *Relação da missão de Mogor do anno de 666 até o anno de 71 inclusive o estado Temporal.* Anonymous narrative, unsigned and undated, of the spiritual and temporal condition of the Mogul mission in 1666–1671. Maclagan (op. cit., p. 384) reads 1675 where I read 1671.

fls. 149–150. Two certificates of inspection of the Mogul mission's expense account books, signed by Padre Antonio de Magalhães, Agra, end February, 1681. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 384.

fls. 151–8. *Carta Annua da Missão do Mogol para o padre Gaspar Affonso Provincial da Provincia de Goa.* This annual report on the Mogul mission is dated Agra, 17th September, 1686, and signed Ignacio Gomez. Maclagan (op. cit., p. 385) reads 7th September where I read 17th.

fls. 159–172. *Carta da Missão do Mogul dirigida a N.M.R.P.G. que contem os successos do anno de 1688, athé o de 1693.* This anonymous and undated annual report for 1688–1693, addressed to the Jesuit General in Rome, has an undated note in Italian inserted at fl. 161. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 385.

Additional MSS. 9855.

fls. 1–16. *Summa Memorandum verum, quae apud Magni Mogoris Regnum vidit, et obseruauit Pater Antonius Botelho societatis Iesu Goanae Prouinciae Praepositus Prouincialis, intra sexennium, quò illic superior uixit et Missionarius.* Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., pp. 383–4.

fls. 17–45. *Rellação das cousas mais notaueis, que obseruei no Reino do Grom Mogol em perto de seis annos, que nelle estiue por Missionario, e superior daquella Christandade.* This extensive narrative by Padre Antonio Botelho of the six years he spent in the Mogul mission-field is the Portuguese version of the preceding Latin *Summa Memorandum*. Extracts of this latter are given in *JAS. Bengal*, vol. lxv (1896), and in (New Series) vi, pp. 453–461, and sources there quoted.

fls. 46–51. Narrative of events in the realm of the Great Mogul after the arrival there of Padre G. de Sousa. The last few pages are missing, but this report is ascribed to Padre Sousa by a contemporary annotation in another hand. The narrative begins with the writer's departure from Goa, 15th February, 1620. Not cited in Maclagan's catalogue of Jesuit Letters and Reports from Mogor.

fls. 52–76. *Annua da Missão do Mogor do anno de 1650.* Anonymous annual report on the Mogul Mission in Portuguese. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 382.

fls. 77–82. *Carta Annua da missão do Mogol do anno de 1668 que escreveo o Padre Manoel de Valle.* Annual report on the Mogul mission for 1668. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 383.

fls. 83–103. *Carta Annua da Missão do Imperio do Grão Mogul do anno de 1670 até o de 1678 para o nosso M. R. P. Ioam Paulo Oliva Preposito Geral da Companhia de Jesus.* Annual report on the Mogul mission for 1670–8. Dated Goa, 27th December, 1678, and signed Joseph Freire. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 384, for other versions and translations of this MSS.

fls. 104–111. *Instrumento do milagre do bem aventurado Sancto Ignacio tirado a Dio.* This is written in, to me at least, a largely indecipherable hand, but it appears to be a notarial attestation concerning a miracle wrought by the intercession of the blessed saint Ignacio Loyola. Although the latter was only canonised in 1623, the document seems to be about twenty years earlier judging from the handwriting or rather scrawl. Possibly the endorsement was added later. Philipps was quite wrong in supposing this MSS. to be written in Tamil (*JASB.*, op. cit., p. 449).

fls. 112–18. *Interrogatorios que se hão de fazer as testemunhas sobre a Canonização do Padre Francisco Xavier por virtude das remissorias Apostolicas*, followed by the *Artigos* propounded by Padre Bras Luis, S.J. [n.d., n.p. but] Goa *circa* 1600. On fl. 118 is an interesting list of witnesses.

fls. 119–124. Three A.L.s. of Padre Gregorio Roiz, S.J., dated 26th April, 1674, 5th July, 1675, and 19th February, 1676, written from the Jesuit College at Agra to Padre Bento Ferreira, the Provincial at Goa. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 384.

fl. 125–126. *Apontamentos de hum caso de edificação succedido na Missão de Mogol, tirados de hũa carta do Padre João Leitão, escrita em Agra a 12 de Dezembro de 1677.* Endorsed on the back as Notes of the Mogul Mission for the Annual Letter (of 1677).

fls. 127–8. *Treslado da carta do Padre Provincial Fernão de Queiroz, ao Padre Provincial de S. Agostinho sobre a Missão nova de Bengala.* Goa, 7th October, 1678. Copy of Padre Fernão Queiroz's letter to the Augustinian Provincial at Goa on the establishment of a new Bengal Mission. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 384.

fl. 129. Copy of a letter of Padre Marco Antonio Santucchi

written from Patna in Bengal, 29th August, 1679, to the Jesuit Padre Provincial at Goa.

fls. 130–1. *Regimento para os Padres Missionarios das Missões de Nepal, Patana, e Bengala.* Goa, 29th April, 1680. Cf. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 387.

fls. 132–4. A.L.s. of Padre Marco Antonio Santucci, Hughli, 16th November, 1680, addressed to the Jesuit Padre Provincial, Fernão de Queiroz, at Goa. Cf. Maclagan, ibid.

fls. 135–6. An unsigned letter from a Jesuit missionary at *Chapora, Patana*, 20th March, 1681, addressed to the Padre Visitador Antonio de Magalhaens. Cf. Maclagan, ibid.

fls. 137–8. Copies of correspondence between the Missionary Junta at Goa and Padre Gregorio Roiz, the Preposito Provincial at Goa, 11–21st January, 1682. Deals with the refusal of the Portuguese authorities to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Bishops sent out by the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide at Rome, and instructing all Portuguese missionaries to refuse to take the oath of obedience to such Bishops or Vicars-Apostolic. Not mentioned in Maclagan's *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul.*

fl. 139. A.L.s. of Padre Manoel Saraiva, Basna, 28th December, 1683, addressed to Padre Simão Martins, the Jesuit Praeposito Provincial at Goa.

fls. 141–2 A.L.s. of Padre Ignacio Gomez, Basna, 17th December, 1683, to the same.

fls. 143–4. A.L.s. of Padre Marco Antonio Santucci, Noluacot, 21st June, 1682, to the same.

fls. 145–8. A.L.s. of Padre João Leitão, Patna, 15th September, 1682, to Padre Philippe Vagra.

fls. 149–150. A.L.s. of Padre Marco Antonio Santucci, Patna, 26th January, 1684, to Padre Simão Martins.

fls. 151–2. Portuguese translation by Padre João Leitão of a petition in Persian presented to the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb. Agra, 20th July, 1684.

fls. 153–5. Portuguese translation of an older letter of *xaalandy mamede* [Shāh' Alāwd dīn Muhamad] written from Agra to the Jesuit Superior at Goa, 1st June, 1638.

fl. 156. The original petition of Shāh' Alāud dīn Muhamad.

fl. 157. A.L.s. of Padre João Leitão, Agra, 16th June, 1684, to Padre Provincial at Goa.

fl. 158. Portuguese translation by Padre João Leitão of a petition

addressed to Emperor Aurangzeb, Agra, 20th July, 1684, asking for the Jesuits to be exempted from payment of the poll-tax.

fl. 159. The original Persian petition.

fls. 160–7. Two A.L.s. of Padre Marco Antonio Santucci, Hughli, 20th August, 1684, for the Padre Provincial at Goa. Apparently duplicates.

fl. 168. Document in Persian (Shikasta), apparently dated *circa* 1628.

fls. 169–170. A.L.s. of Padre Marco Antonio Santucci, Hughli, 20th December, 1684, addressed to the Padre Provincial at Goa. For particulars of the three Persian documents in this codex cf. *JAS. Bengal* (New Series), vi, pp. 452–3. This article also contains biographical notes on most of the Jesuit missionaries mentioned in this codex, and further details can be obtained from the works of Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, iv, v (Aachen, 1928–9), and of Sir E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932).

Additional MSS. 9856.

fls. 1–114. *Apologia e resposta feito pello Padre Valentim Carvalho da Companhia de Jesus Provincial nesta provincia de Iapão e China, a hum tratado do Padre Frei Sebastião de São Pedro da ordem de São Francisco, que se intitula recupilaçã das cauzas porque o Emperador de Japão desterou de seus Reinos todos os padres.* This polemical treatise in defence of the Jesuits against the Franciscan Friars also contains a mass of detail on Hispano-Portuguese rivalry in the Far East in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Dated in the Jesuit College at Macao, 27th May, 1617.

Some extracts are printed in Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica*, vol. iii, pp. 378–396 (Barcelona, 1904). For the original *Relacion de la grande persecucion que ha auido contra la Xpandad en los reinos de Japon* of Padre Frey Sebastian de San Pedro (or Sebastian Bemarrohoa), O.F.M., which has likewise only been printed in a very summarized form, cf. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, v, pp. 432–3.

Carvalho's account is of special interest to English readers, since he often quotes Will Adams, the Kentish pilot who became a sort of unofficial adviser on foreign affairs to the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1600–1620. Adams told Domingos Francisco, a Spanish envoy from Manila in 1612, "You will see that there will not be a single Padre left in Japan within three years from now." Francisco repeated this warning to his colleague, Oratio Nerete,

the Portuguese envoy from Macao, who passed it on to Carvalho. Adams' prophecy—or threat—came to pass when the Roman Catholic missionaries were all formally banished on pain of death in 1614. This *Apologie* also gives a succinct account of the suspicions aroused by Will Adams in the mind of Ieyasu, through the charting of the south-east coast of Japan by Sebastian Vizcaino, chief pilot from Mexico, in 1611. The matter is discussed on pp. 486–492 of vol. ii of James Murdoch's *History of Japan*, but Murdoch and later historians, both Japanese and foreign, have fallen into the error of assuming that Vizcaino was merely a subordinate of Dom Nuno Sotomayor, usually described as a Spanish envoy. This latter fidalgo was in fact a Portuguese ambassador, sent from Macao to renew commercial relations between the Portuguese colony and Japan which had been abruptly terminated by the destruction of Pessoa's carrack off Nagasaki in January, 1610. In this Sotomayor was successful, but he had nothing to do with Vizcaino's mission.

Additional MSS. 9857.

fls. 1–140. *Libro Primero del principio, y progresso de la Religion christiana en Jappon y de la especial prouidencia de que Nuestro señor uso con aquella nueua Iglesia. Compuesto por el Padre Alexandro Valignano de la Compañia de Jesus en el año 1601.* Neatly written MSS. of 280 pp. in the hand of a contemporary copyist. The work is divided into a Dedicatory Epistle addressed to the Padre General, a Preface to the reader, and twenty-six chapters dealing with the history of the Jesuits' mission in Japan from its discovery in 1542 to the death of Padre Cosme de Torres, one of Xavier's companions, in 1570. Valignano states in his dedication that the work was begun on the 25th March, 1601, and the colophon states it was finished on the 25th July of the same year.

There is an eighteenth century transcript, made at Macao in 1747, in the Ajuda Library at Lisbon (*Jesuitas na Asia*, Codex 49–4–63), from which a few short extracts were printed in Padre Cros' *Saint François Xavier*, vol. ii (Toulouse, 1900).

Valignano knew Japan well as a result of three lengthy visits he had there in his capacity of Visitor of the Jesuit Missions in the Far East. Though incomplete, this work is comparable in importance to the *Historia de Japam* by his contemporary Padre Luis Frois, of which the first two parts covering the years 1549–1582,

have been published—the first section in German translation by Voretzsch and Schurhammer, at Leipsig in 1926; and the second, in the original Portuguese, by Okamoto and Abranches Pinto, at Tokyo in 1938. I understand from these last-named friends of mine that the third and final section of Padre Frois' *Historia*, in the form of *Apparatos* (i.e. *Drafts* or *Materials*) covering the period 1583–1593, was ready for the press in 1941, but that publication has been indefinitely postponed owing to the war and its aftermath. After the deaths of Frois (1597) and Valignano (1606) the work was carried on, after an interval of some years, by Padre João Rodrigues Tçuzzu (1561–1634), probably the finest Japanese scholar of them all, but he likewise died before completing his *Historia da Igreja do Japão*. Fortunately, however, a MSS. transcript of his two first *Books*, containing a general description of the country and people, has been preserved at Ajuda, and this supplements to a large extent the missing portions of Frois' and Valignano's works.

Additional MSS. 9858.

fls. 1–4. *Certidão do Senhor Dom Pedro Bispo de Japão acerqa do Estado daquella noua Igreia.* This is a violent polemical attack on the Spanish Franciscan missionaries, refuting their allegations against the Jesuits and Portuguese, and blaming their own rashness and folly for bringing on Hideyoshi's anti-Christian campaign which culminated in the seizure of the Spanish ship *San Felipe* and the Franciscan Martyrdom at Nagasaki in 1597. The Bishop in question was Dom Pedro Martins, and the document bears his autograph signature and is dated Macao, 17th November, 1597.

fls. 4–5. *Outra certidão de Ruy Mendez de Figueiredo Capitão mor da viagem de Japão; trata da misma materia que a passada.* Evidence of Rui Mendez de Figueiredo, Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage in 1596–7, to the same effect, Macao, 14th November, 1597. It is interesting to note that both these certificates of the Bishop and Captain-Major contain the allegation that a Spanish pilot aroused the suspicions of the Japanese by telling an interrogator that the Spanish conquests in America and the Philippines were facilitated by native christians who had been converted by the friars. This allegation was repeated by Charlevoix and other Jesuit chroniclers, but some modern Church historians have striven

to deny that it had any foundation. For other accounts of the *San Felipe* affair, cf. Streit, op. cit., iv, pp. 488–498.

fls. 6–7. *Breue e verdadeira Relação do triste successo e perda da Nao San Phelippe, que partio da manilha, para a noua Espanha, com tormenta vejo ter a costa de Japão que o Bispo do mesmo Japão manda a Sua Magestade.* Narrative of the loss of the *San Felipe* off Tosa (Shikoku) in 1596, and the misadventures of her passengers and crew. Drawn up by order of the foregoing Bishop D. Pedro Martins, S.J.

Gives us *inter alia* a glimpse of the Spanish–Portuguese rivalry which embittered their relations in the Far East. The Bishop alleges that the Spaniards told the Japanese that the Portuguese of Macao were mere merchants who could not give even the Achinese a hiding, and that King Philip had conquered their kingdom, whereas they (the Spaniards) were soldiers and warriors. He then repeats the story about the friars being the forerunners of the conquistadores, but adds that he had not heard it at first hand but only on hearsay.

fls. 7–10. Narrative of the Franciscan Martyrdom at Nagasaki in February, 1597, and events leading thereto. The blame is placed on the friars' own wanton rashness. Cf. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, iv, pp. 496–7.

fls. 10–15. Minutes of missionary discussions on the movements of the two Bishops of Japan, Dom Pedro Martins and Dom Luis de Cerqueira, dated respectively Nagasaki, 14th March, 1597, and Macao, 10th December, 1597.

fls. 16–38. *Relacion de las cosas de Japon pera N. P. F. Francisco de Arrubiaga Commissario general de todas las Indias en Corte.* MSS. notes in another hand at the beginning and end of this report on the Franciscan mission in Japan, state that it was written by Frey Martinho at Miaco (Kyoto), 1597. It is a copy and one much damaged by corroded ink acid. Probably identical with item nr. 1810 in Streit, op. cit., p. 485.

fls. 58–61. *Apontamentos sobre o remedio da Christandade de Jappão para se aprezentarem ao senhor Visorrey.* Anonymous narrative n.d., n.p. but circa 1596. Obviously drawn up by or at the instigation of the Jesuits; it advocates prohibiting all Spaniards, whether religious or secular, from visiting Japan, and any found there to be shipped under arrest to Goa. Also advocates increasing the Bishop of Japan's temporal authority, since the Portuguese

living or trading in Nagasaki and Kyushu "would sooner obey Bishops than Captains". Likewise discusses schemes for the conquest or coastal survey of Formosa, and criticizes the Spanish tendency to interfere with the countries bordering on the South China Sea, which the Portuguese regarded as being in their preserve.

fls. 61–80. *Seguese hum tratado que os Religiosos de San Francisco espalharão em Goa, e em Baçaim no anno de 1598 contra os Padres da Companhia de Jesus que andão na conversão de Japão.* The authorship of this venomous anti-Jesuit tract is ascribed to Frei Marcello de Ribadaneira, O.F.M. This work, which laid the blame for the martyrdom of 1597 on the Jesuits, was formally condemned at the request of the latter by the Inquisition at Goa on 14th August, 1598. Cf. Streit, op. cit., iv, p. 493, nr. 1851.

fls. 81–102. *Apollogia en la qual se responde a diversas calumnias que se escriuieron contra los Padres de la Companhia de Jesus de Japon y de la China. Hecha por el Padre Alexandro Valignano de la misma Companhia.* A MSS. note on fl. 81 (? Valignano's holograph ?) states that this treatise was drawn up as a reply to the attacks of Frey Martin de la Asuncion [cf. 16–58, *supra*] and other Franciscan friars on the alleged misbehaviour of the Jesuits in Japan and China. Cf. Streit, op. cit., iv, pp. 504–5 for location of various printed extracts from this *Apollogia*, which has never been printed in full. The latest and best account of the Franciscan Martyrdom of 1597, is by P. Dorotheus Schilling, O.F.M., *Cattura e prigionia dei santi Martiri di Nagasaki* on pp. 202–242 of the periodical *Antonianum*, Ann. xxii, Rome, 1947.

Additional MSS. 9859.

fls. 1–8. Annual letter from Japan dated Nagasaki, 1st October, 1585. The first half and the concluding line is in the hand of Padre Luis Frois whose autograph signature is on the bottom of fl. 7. It is addressed to the Jesuit General Claudio Aquaviva in Rome, and endorsed *2ª Via—De Japão ao primeiro de outubro de 1585—para se ver na china, Malaca, India e casas de Europa ate chegar a Roma* (2nd copy—from Japan, 1st October, 1585, to be seen in China, Malacca, India, and in the European houses until it reaches Rome). On Japanese paper. Printed in *Cartas de Iapão e China* (Evora, 1598), 2nd Part, fls. 126–133.

fls. 9–18. Annual letter dealing with events in Bungo from 1st January to 31st July, 1585. Drawn up at Nagasaki on the

20th August, 1595, by the Vice-Provincial, Gaspar Coelho, and endorsed on the bottom of fl. 7 *recto* by Padre Luis Frois. Addressed to the General Aquaviva via the Jesuit Colleges of Macao, Malacca, Goa, Lisbon, etc., in the same way as the former, and written on Japanese paper. Likewise printed in Part II of the *Cartas de Iapão e China*, fls. 133–146 (Evora, 1598).

fls. 19–51. Annual Japan Letter for 1598, headed *Annua do anno de 98 que he como suplemento da que se escreueo em Outubro do mesmo anno*, showing it was a supplement to a previous one of October, 1598. Unsigned but in the same handwriting and on the same sort of paper as fls. 52–9 *Relação do fim, e remate que teue a guerra de Corea*, narrating the end of Hideyoshi's disastrous expedition to Korea, dated 20th February, 1599, by Padre Francisco Roïz (= Rodrigues). This, however, is not the original but a copy. On fls. 59–93 follow a detailed description of Jesuit establishments in China, commencing with the *Collegio de Machao*, and the embryo China mission. Drawn up at the College of Macao, 17th January, 1600, apparently by Jeronimo Rodrigues whose autograph signature appears on the foot of fl. 93*v*. Fls. 19–93*v* formed one complete codex originally, endorsed as 2ª *via* (duplicate) sent to the Jesuit General at Rome through Padre Gil de Mata.

A very full and interesting account which goes far to fill the gap between the *Cartas de Japão e China* published at Evora in 1598, and Padre Fernão Guerreiro's edition of the Annual Letters for 1600 to 1608, printed at Lisbon in 1603–1611. On fl. 51 is the interesting statement that 7,300 Japanese were converted to Christianity despite the unpropitious nature of the times.

fls. 94–148. Annual Japan Letter for 1600. Signed and dated Nagasaki, 25th October, 1600, by commission of the Padre Vice-Provincial, Valentim Carvalho. This letter is also on Japanese or Chinese paper.

The substance was printed in Fernão Guerreiro's *Relaçam Anual* for 1600–1601.

fls. 149–192. Annual Japan Letter for 1601, dated Nagasaki, 30th September, 1601. In the hand of an amanuensis but with autograph signature of Padre Francisco Rodrigues at foot of fl. 191. Likewise utilised by Guerreiro in his *Relaçam Anual* for 1600–1601 (Lisbon, 1603).

fls. 193–214. Annual Japan and Macao Letter for 1602–3. The section dealing with Japan covers the period 1st October, 1601,

to 1st January, 1603, and is copied from an original by Padre Gabriel de Matos, dated Nagasaki, 1st January, 1603. The Macáo section on fls. 212*v*–214 is dated Macao, 27th January, 1604, and signed by Padre Diogo Antunes. fl. 215 is blank, and fl. 193 *recto* is taken up with a report on the Japan mission taken from its context since it has neither beginning nor end. Evidently fls. 193–214 were all copied at Macao by Diogo Antunes. Utilized for the second volume of Guerreiro's compilation.

fls. 216–269. Annual Japan Letter for October, 1605–October, 1606; dated Nagasaki, 15th January, 1607, drawn up by Padre João Rodrigues Girão on the instructions of the Vice-Provincial. This is not the original, but a contemporary copy which is badly corroded in many places by ink acid. The substance of these annual letters is printed in Guerreiro's third and fourth vols. (Lisbon, 1607–1609).

fls. 270–293. Annual Japan Letter for 1615, drawn up at Nagasaki, 15th March, 1616, by Padre João Rodrigues Girão on the instructions of the Vice-Provincial. A contemporary copy like the foregoing. Contains *inter alia* a full and vivid account of the siege and capture of Osaka by Tokugawa Ieyasu. Utilized for the abridged Italian version (*Lettere Annue*) published at Naples in 1621.

fls. 294–329. Annual Japan Letter for 1625. It is an incomplete copy of the 3ª *via* addressed to the Jesuit General Vitelleschi at Rome, and breaks off in the middle of a description of martyrdoms in the Kubota district of Northern Japan. An Italian version was printed at Rome and Milan in 1632. Cf. Streit, op. cit., 487–493.

Additional MSS. 9860.

fls. 1–6. *Rol das casas e residencias que tem a companhia na vice-provincia de Japão neste mez de Novembro do ano de 92 com os nomes dos Padres e Irmãos que nellas residem.* Detailed list of the Jesuit establishments in Japan and China, including a roll of all the Jesuits stationed therein, together with the linguistic or other qualifications of each one. Endorsed at the end by Padre Alexandro Valignano, Macao, 19th January, 1593. The original on Japanese paper. This statistical compilation gives a total of twenty-four residential establishments with 207 churches, staffed by 154 Jesuits, of whom 136 belonged to the Japan mission proper (though a few of them were temporarily in Macao), and eighteen to Macao and the China mission field. The Jesuit staff in Japan was supplemented by

180 Japanese cathecists or acolytes known as *dojuku* (同 宿) who were studying for the ministry or filled minor offices like those of sacristan, gatekeeper, and so forth. In addition to these, there were a number of servants and watchmen, making a grand total of 670 Jesuits and their staff in Japan who were maintained out of ecclesiastical funds. There is also a list of the eight principal houses, sixteen residences, and 146 churches destroyed during Toyotomi Hideyoshi's anti-Christian persecution of 1587–1592. The first leaf of this catalogue is wrongly bound in this codex at fl. 106 *infra*.

fl. 7. Sixteenth century document (receipt ?) signed by Bartolomeu Gomez and witnessed by Gaspar Ferreira. Apparently has no connection with the other documents in this codex.

fls. 8–12. Copy of a letter with news from Japan written by Padre Francisco Passio, 16th September, 1594. Much damaged by ink acid corrosion, but legible with difficulty.

fls. 13–22. *Instrumento autentico da felice, e gloriosa morte de vinte e seis xpãos, que morrerão crucificados por nossa santa fee catholica em Nangasaqui a cinco de fevereiro de 1597.* Report of the Franciscan Martyrdom resulting from the *San Felipe* incident of the previous year. Contemporary copy of the original attestation drawn up under the auspices of Bishop Dom Pedro Martins at Macao, with full transcript of the eyewitnesses' evidence. For other accounts, cf Streit, op. cit., iv, pp 490 505, and P. Dorotheus Schilling, O.F.M., *Cattura e prigionia dei Santi Martiri di Nagasaki* (Roma, 1947).

fls. 23–32. Five drafts of Letters from the Bishop of Japan, Dom Pedro Martins, to the *Bispo Capellão Mór*, the Pope, the King, and to Pedro Alvares Pereira. They are all unsigned but four of them, in Portuguese, appear to be holograph. The other one, to the Pope, is in Latin and in the hand of a clerk. They range between 23rd February and 7th March, 1597, and are all written from Nagasaki on Japanese paper.

fls. 33–50. *Certidoms dos Reitores, Vice-provincial e Bispo de Japão acerca das cousas de Japão instificadas em Macao. Pera se ver em Goa, Portugal, e Roma. 2ª Via.* A very full and interesting account of the Jesuits' Japan Mission in 1602, drawn up in due legal form at Macao in 1603, and containing certified copies of statements by the Bishop D. Luis de Cerqueira and others at Nagasaki in the preceding year. All the establishments and their personnel are described in detail. There is an interesting account

of the Jesuits' printing press at Nagasaki on fl. 36, which states, *inter alia*, that the bulk of its production was distributed free to the native christians. Attached to the press was a painting atelier, whose products, in oils, water-colours, and engravings, were used to beautify the Jesuit establishments in China, as well as those in Japan. On native paper. An abridged version printed in French translation in Pagès, *Histoire*, ii, pp. 41–51 (Paris, 1870).

fls. 51–4. A.L.s. of Padre Manuel Frias addressed to the Rector of the College of Saint Paul [? Goa] giving news of Japan for the year 1596. N.p., n.d. but the original draft written on native paper, presumably at Nagasaki.

fls. 55–7. Signed statement of the Bishop of Japan, Dom Pedro Martins, dated Macao, 17th November, 1597, on the causes of Hideyoshi's martyrdom of the Franciscans at Nagasaki in February of that year. Bishop Martins ascribes this entirely to their own imprudence and rashness, since the friars refused to follow the Jesuits' example of " working in disguise like we do in England nowadays ", which they regarded as " cowardice and weakness ". Another copy in the Vatican archives was printed in *Labor-Evangelica*, ii, pp. 698–700.

fls. 57–8. Certificate signed by the Bishop of Japan (Dom Luis Cerqueira) at Nagasaki on the 21st February, 1599, giving a brief statistical review of the results of the anti-christian persecution of the preceding two years. Endorsed as the duplicate to be sent to Portugal of the original sent by Padre Gil de Mata. Unpublished.

fls. 59–60. Draft of a letter (apparently autograph) written by the Bishop of Japan to Dom Christovão de Moura. No date, but written at Nagasaki *circa* 1597. Unpublished.

fls. 61–2. Formal protest of the Bishop of Japan (Luis de Cerqueira), Padre Alessandro Valignano and other leading Jesuits of the Japan mission, against the dispatch of Franciscan friars from the Philippines to what the Jesuits regarded as their own exclusive preserves. The original, with autograph signatures, dated Nagasaki, 23rd September, 1598.

fls. 63–5. Notarial attestation by Jesuit theologians and the Bishop of Japan, declaring that various miracles attributed to the Spanish Franciscan martyrs of 1597 had been investigated and found to be false and spurious. Nagasaki, 3rd February, 1599. Contemporary copy.

fls. 66–7. Letter from Padre Alessandro Valignano, dated *Xiqi* [Shiki], 12th October, 1599, to the Jesuit Provincial at Goa. Original,

with autograph signature. Probably the covering letter to the next item.

fls. 66–83. Annual Letter from Japan, dated 26th October, 1599, compiled by order of Padre Alessandro Valignano. Contemporary copy. Cf. Streit, op. cit., iv, pp. 510–11, for a printed Italian version of this annual letter.

fls. 84–6. Newsletter from Japan by Padre Valignano, addressed to the Rector of the Jesuit College at Malacca, 24th February and 25th October, 1600. States there were then 190 Jesuits in Japan. Copy. Unpublished.

fls. 87–8. Transcript of a letter of the Vice-Provincial in Japan [Francisco Pasio] to the Viceroy of India, dated Nagasaki, 24th February, 1604. Contemporary duplicate on native paper. Alludes to Ieyasu's toleration of christianity, in consequence of which the conversion rate had risen to between 4,000 and 5,000 yearly. Unpublished.

fls. 89–90. Transcript of a letter from the Vice-Provincial in Japan to the Provincial at Goa, dated Nagasaki, 6th November, 1604. Copy of one sent to the General at Rome. Unpublished.

fls. 91–7. Transcript of a letter from the Bishop of Japan [D. Luis Cerqueira] to the Archbishop of Goa, on the inconveniences to the mission resulting from the arrival of Spanish Franciscans from the Philippines, and suggesting measures to enforce the Papal Brief forbidding it. Unpublished.

fls. 98–102. Certified copy of a letter of Padre Alessandro Valignano to the Archbishop of Goa, dated Macao, 7th October, 1605. The transcript is certified by Padre Valentim Carvalho, Rector of the Macao College, who states the first copy sent was lost in a shipwreck off Indo-China. It is endorsed as having been read in the Jesuit College at Chaul, and forwarded to those at Bandora, Bassein, and Daman. (? Similar subject-matter to Streit, op. cit., v, nr. 1033, p. 380.)

fls. 103–105. [*Treslado do*] *Consulta feita em Nangasaqi aos 15 de Setembro de 1605.* Consultation of the principal Jesuits in Japan concerning a proposal, from headquarters at Rome, to separate Macao and China from the province of Japan—a suggestion unanimously opposed by the Japan Jesuits who regarded Macao as essential to their mission's well-being.

fl. 106. Wrongly bound. This should be the first leaf in this codex, being the cover to the Catalogue on fls. 1–6 *supra*.

fls. 107–110. *Certidão do Bispo de Japão escrea do caso de Omurodono.* Letter of the Bishop of Japan, dated Nagasaki, 6th March, 1606, on the Daimyo of Omura's apostacy, and expulsion of missionaries from his fief. Original, with autograph signature. Very valuable for the early history of Nagasaki.

fls. 111–19. Nominal rolls of the Jesuit missionaries, both European and Asiatic, with their individual location in Japan and Macao for the years 1606–1608 inclusive. Of great value for the biographies of these missionaries.

fls. 120–2. *Treslado da carta que o padre Valentim Carvalho escreueo em reposta de hũa do padre frei Miguel.* Transcript of a letter from Valentim Carvalho, S.J., refuting the allegations of padre frei Miguel dos Santos, dated Macao, 5th October, 1606.

fls. 123–6. Transcript of a letter of the Vice-Provincial of Japan to the Jesuit General, dated Nagasaki, 18th October, 1606. Endorsed "to be read in the Colleges of the North, and returned to this Secretariat in time to be copied for dispatch to the Kingdom" [Portugal]. Probably similar to Streit. v, nr. 1044, p. 382 (dated 14th October, 1606).

fls. 127–8. Copy of a letter from the Vice-Provincial of Japan to the Jesuit General at Rome. Nagasaki, October, 1607.

fls. 129–135. *Relação da queima da Nao Nossa Senhora da Graça em que veo por Capitão Mor da viagem André Pessoa no anno de 1609.* Narrative of the loss of the Macao Carrack commanded by André Pessoa who fired his ship rather than surrender on the night of 6th January, 1610. An abridged English translation will be found on pp. 52–62 of my *Fidalgos in the Far East*, 1550–1770, (The Hague, 1948). The original was compiled by Padre João Rodrigues Girão at Nagasaki in March, 1610.

fls. 136–201. *Relaçam do martyrio de cinco Christaos Japoens que foram mortos polla confyssam de nossa Santa [Fe] em Japam no reino de Fingo o anno de 1609.* Narrative of the martyrdom of five native christians of Higo province, Kyushu, in 1609. Endorsed as having been circulated and read to the personnel of the Jesuit missionary establishments in China. For printed versions of this martyrdom cf. Streit, op. cit., v, pp. 391–2.

fls. 202–4. Transcript of a letter of the Vice-Provincial of Japan to the Jesuit General, dated Nagasaki, 15th March, 1610. With autograph annotations concerning Jesuit martyrs on the verso of last leaf.

fls. 205–8. *Sumario da Carta de Jappão do anno de 1611.* Summary of the annual Japan letter for 1611. Contemporary copy. An Italian version of the Annual letter for 1611 was printed in full in 1615. Cf. Streit, v, p. 405, nr. 1129.

fl. 209. Account of the celebrations of the Beatification of Saint Ignacio Loyola at Nagasaki in 1611. Copy.

fls. 210–230. Narrative of the persecution in Japan in 1612–14, extracted from the annual letters of that period for dispatch to the Jesuit General at Rome. Dated Nagasaki, 7th November, 1614. Copy. A Portuguese version was printed in 1616. Cf. Streit, v, p. 409, nr. 1146.

fls. 231–2. *Treslado de alguns capitulos de hũa carta que o Padre Jeronimo Rõiz vice-provincial de Japão escreueo ao Padre Valentim Carualho Prouincial que agora está em Macao.* The original was dated 31st October, 1615, and concerns the mutual accusations of schismatics bandied about between the Jesuits and the Mendicant Orders at Manila. Unpublished.

fls. 233–8. Narrative of the martyrdoms in Japan for the period March to October, 1617. The original, written hastily at Macao, 14th November, 1617 (*Feita em Macao apressadamente em 14 de nouembro de 617*) by Padre Jeronimo Rodrigues. For more detailed narratives of the martyrdoms of 1617, cf. Streit, v, pp. 434–444.

fls. 239–242. A.L.s. of Padre Jeronimo de Angelis, North Japan, 1st October, 1618, addressed to Padre Afonso de Lucena. Of great value for the history of Yezo (Hokkaido). For later versions cf. Streit, op. cit., v, p. 459, nr. 1282.

fls. 243–253. *Relaçam breue dos martires de Iapam do anno de 1619.* Brief narrative of the Japan martyrs of 1619 drawn up at Macao, 15th January, 1620, for dispatch to the Jesuit General at Rome. For a much longer printed Italian version cf. Streit, op. cit., v, p. 453, nr. 1247.

fls. 254–7. Narrative of the martyrdom of Padre Marcello Francisco Mastrilli, S.J., at Nagasaki in October, 1637. Copy. For much longer accounts cf. Streit, v, pp. 547–554.

fls. 258–9. A.L.s. of Padre Manoel Ferreira to Padre Fernão de Queiroz, dated Goa, 28th September, 1686.

fl. 260. Memorandum on the framing of a *Conservatoria* addressed to the Rector of the Jesuit College at Macao. N.p., n.d., but *circa* 1620. With marginal notes by the Rector.

fls. 261–4. Memorandum on the pernicious effects of allowing the

Philippines to trade with Japan and other topics, *circa* 1615. Much damaged by ink acid corrosion.

fls. 265–8. *Das cousas que pertencem a Vice Provincia de Jappão. Cap. 6.* Anonymous memorandum on various administrative problems connected with the Japan mission. *Circa* 1600. Copy.

fls. 269–272. Copy of Padre Alonso Sanches' account of the beginnings of the Jesuit mission in China. M.d., n.p., but *circa* 1585. Probably one of the numerous treatises listed in Streit, iv, pp. 327–331.

fls. 273–296. *Apologia em defensão dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus de Iapão.* Endorsed as being an *Apology against diverse calumnies being sown in this country against the Japan Padres.* No place or date, but a partly erased marginal annotation ascribes it to Padre Sebastião Gonsaluez, and from the context it was written at Goa about 1610. Heavily annotated in a contemporary hand.

fls. 297–304. *Treslado de una carta escrita a un prebendado, por cierto beneficiado de la costa.* Anonymous undated satirical tract in Spanish on the Jesuits' attitude towards the Franciscan Martyrdom of 1597 and events connected therewith. Endorsed as being sent *via* Malacca to Padre Sebastião Goncaluez; evidently one of the slanderous libels on the Japan Jesuits to which the latter replied in his *Apologia supra*, fls. 273 ff.

fls. 305–316. *Duvidas que se propuzeram de Jappão com suas repostas.* Fragmentary treatise dealing with various problems of matrimony, slavery, war, and so forth, in the Japan Mission. In Latin. An incomplete copy, badly corroded by ink acid.

Additional MSS. 9861.

Historia de Ethiopia a alta, ou Abbasia, imperio do Abexim . . . composto pelo Padre Manoel de Almeida S.J. natural de Viseu. This codex of Almeida's famous history of Abyssinia, is fully described on pp. 520–526 of vol. 2 of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (1923), and p. 132 of vol. 3 of the *Bulletin* (1925), where comparison is made with another MSS. version, formerly owned by Marsden, and given by King's College to the School of Oriental and African Studies.

MSS. 6878 and 6879.

These MSS. were catalogued in detail on pp. 516–18 of vol. ii, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, and again on pp. 130–1

of vol. iii, so there is no necessity to repeat the information here for the third time of asking, especially since they are of no interest, save to students of hagiology.

Additional MSS. 9390–9397.

These MSS. belonged to Marsden's friend, Isaac Titsingh, *Opperhoofd* or Chief of the Dutch Factory of Deshima, Nagasaki, in 1779–1784, and they are briefly mentioned in connection with other MSS. from the same source, on pp. 163–5 of my *Jan Compagnie in Japan 1600–1817* (The Hague, 1936).

Note.—In the clean sweep made by the School of Oriental Studies of Marsden's manuscripts at King's College, I have found one solitary survivor, the *Martyrology of Portuguese Missionaries* referred to on p. 303 of the *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana* (London, 1827). This codex does not refer to China or Indochina, as might be inferred from its place in the Catalogue, but is a general martyrology of Jesuit missionaries in Asia, evidently compiled in the second half of the seventeenth century. A preliminary inspection does not indicate that it contains any material which cannot be found in the relevant printed sources listed in bibliographies of mission history. Many pages are badly damaged by ink acid corrosion. I hope later to examine the Marsden MSS. at the School of Oriental Studies, and to trace in how far they correspond with those listed in the original printed catalogue of 1827.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.L. = Autograph Letter.

A.L.s. = Autograph Letter signed.

n.p., n.d. = no place, no date.

JASB. = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta).

Maclagan = E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932).

Streit = Rob. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*. Vols. iv and v, *Amerikanische Missionsliteratur 1245–1700* (Aachen, 1928–9).

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East. By C. J. Gadd. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1945. pp. 101. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.

The book is divided in three parts: the god, the king, the people. For the divine rule to which Mr. Gadd refers in his title was exercised whether the ruler was himself a god, as in Egypt, or an appointee of the gods, as in Mesopotamia, or "the Lord's anointed".

As to the rule of the gods. "There were generations and conflicts of the gods, leading to the establishment of one as supreme. There was an act of creation, differing greatly in details, but leading to the invention of man as a means of relieving the gods from otherwise inescapable toil, particularly in building their houses, a first necessity for any god with pretentions to quality. The multiplication of men led to the establishment of cities, which were portioned out among the brethren of the creator; from these and from their inhabitants the gods were to derive an existence of ease and plenty. In order that the creatures might be capable of their duties they must be given an ordered life and the skills necessary for sustaining a civilized existence, both for themselves and for the gods. The next stage, then, is for the gods to improve their patrimonies with these essential institutions; order is maintained by the appointment of a king, and skills are dispensed to mankind in a variety of ways" (p. 13).

Notice how closely the gods, king, and people are connected. For ancient life was integrated to an extent difficult for us to imagine, and the elusiveness of demarcations, the intimate relationship between all its various manifestations, pose problems to the modern student which Mr. Gadd puts frankly before the reader, with a learning claiming our confidence and often with a puzzled urbanity which is disarming. "As so often in the ways of this people's thinking, nothing could be more odd, nothing could be more natural" (p. 62). It is the Greek looking at the barbarians, but knowing them better than most Greeks.

The field covered is extensive: Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria; Hebrews and Phoenicians, and Hittites. Often the comparisons between related usages in different regions are illuminating, as, to

quote one instance, "the progress of divine revelation (i.e. of ideas about it)" (pp. 19–26). Space does not allow me to list the many subjects touched upon, or to propose alternative views for some of them. One general question, however, poses itself: to what extent is it possible to shed one's modernity, to see the Ancients, not as the Greek saw them, but with an understanding in which the odd and the natural regain their original coherence?

H. FRANKFORT.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By W. W. TARN. Vol. I: The Narrative. pp. xi + 161. 10s. 6d. Vol. II: Sources and Studies. pp. xiii + 477. 31s. 6d. Cambridge University Press.

In these two volumes Dr. Tarn has collected and given definitive form to his studies of Alexander, the work of half a century of distinguished scholarship.

They do not deal, except incidentally, with questions of Asiatic history and geography. For most members of the Asiatic Society, Dr. Tarn's chief work will continue to be *The Greeks in Bactria and India*; a book which, published by the C.U.P. in 1939, under the shadow of the Second World War, may perhaps have missed some of the attention that was its due.

Of the present work, Volume I contains, with only minor revisions, the author's two chapters on Alexander, contributed to Vol. VI of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and long famous in their own right as a notable piece of terse and vivid narrative. It was worth while to make a book of them; though it may be that a few details, clear enough in the context of the *CAH.*, may be obscure to the "general reader" of this volume. In Volume II Dr. Tarn carries out first a masterly analysis of "The So-called Vulgate and Its Sources" (i.e. the sources on Alexander, other than Arrian), and then devotes essays, some of them of considerable length, to Alexander's army, to some military and other historical questions (especially, to the nailing down of a number of apocryphal stories), and finally to "The Main Problems" (pp. 347–449): Alexander's intentions after his return from India, the question of his deification and above all, his alleged dream of the Brotherhood of Man. Alexander in his last phase is for Dr. Tarn a reformed character, who had abandoned conquest and "would, had he lived, have

tried to do *something* to outlaw war" (p. 448). Few, perhaps, w follow him this far; but every student of Alexander's history f many years to come will be indebted to Dr. Tarn's life-work.

A. R. Burn.

Cylindres et cachets orientaux conservés dans les collections suisses; contribution à l'histoire de la glyptique en Asie Occidentale. By Elie Borowski. (Artibus Asiae Supplementum, III–VI) en collaboration avec Heinz Mode préface de Walter Baumgartner, Professeur à l'Universi de Bâle. Tome I, *Mesopotamie*; de la periode préhistoriq d'Ourouk jusqu'à la 1re Dynastie de Babylone, 1947. Editio Artibus Asiae, Ascona, Suisse.

This is the first of four volumes scheduled to present the Sw collections of ancient Near Eastern seals within a framework of t glyptic development in that region. Though such a framework h been established by H. Frankfort, the first scholar to underta a comprehensive chronological and stylistic classification of cylind seals (*Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939), and though A. Moortg (*Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin, 1940) has made another gre contribution to the knowledge of the history of the glyptic develo ment, especially for the Neo-Assyrian period, there was still roc for further refinement of this classification and for the clarificati of obscure details.

Moreover, the point of view of Borowski differs from that Frankfort, and so is likely to open up new avenues of approac While Frankfort regarded non-Mesopotamian cylinders as periphe products of Mesopotamian glyptic art, Borowski plans to defi them specifically as independent units. He divides the mater (p. 5) into: (1) the glyptic art of Mesopotamia proper to the Fi Dynasty of Babylon; (2) that of the First Dynasty of Babylo (3) that of Iran from the 4th to the 2nd millennium; (4) Syr Ægean; (5) Assyrian (thirteenth century), Neo-Assyrian (with Assyro-Phœnician and Palestinian derivates of the ninth to t seventh century), Neo-Babylonian, Achæmenian and Sassanian.

One of the valuable results of Borowski's research is his pione effort to extend the study of seal engraving backwards to cov the glyptic art manifested in the stamp seals which preced

cylinder seals in the early cultures of the ancient Near East. But his statement concerning the possible origin of stamp seals and hence of glyptic art in Syria and Iran rather than in Mesopotamia (p. 15) calls for caution. His train of thought is not always clearly expressed, but he appears to assume that the invention of the stamp seal was an achievement of the Tell Halaf culture which originated in Syria. He bases his theory on a preliminary report on the excavations at Tell Judeidah (*AJA.*, xli, 1937, pp. 10 ff.) which lists the discovery of "unilinear stamp seals" in layer 14.

Borowski's theory would apparently make these "stamp seals" earlier than a seal impression with animal design from Tepe Gawra (though he places both at the same chronological level in a chart listing the earliest glyptic products of Syria, Northern and Southern Mesopotamia, and Iran, p. 18). But even if priority in time should be proved for the Judeidah layer bearing these stamps, it would still remain to be shown that these Syrian pieces were actually used for sealing.

For the present only Tepe Gawra and Arpachiyah (*Iraq*, ii, 1933, pt. 1, pl. ix, A. 609, 615-620), both sites in Northern Mesopotamia, have yielded seal impressions in layers of the Tell Halaf period, proving that the small engraved stones found in these layers were employed to mark the property of a person, a community, or a numinous being. In turn, only such objects as were used for sealing can be regarded as having engendered the glyptic art of the subsequent periods. Their function as seal stones led not only to the technique of a negative relief (producing a positive when impressed upon plastic material), but probably also to the repertory of their designs. While amulets tend to retain a uniform decoration, it is reasonable to suppose that variation was soon sought for the designs that were to mark the seals of different individuals.

Thus, unless and until seal impressions are found in Syria, proving that the stamp seal-shaped objects were actually used for sealing and were not merely amulets or decorative pendants, it is safer to assume seals were engraved first in northern Mesopotamia.

Borowski next surveys Mesopotamian seal engraving in relation to its archaeological context to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, giving for each period a summary of Frankfort's and Moortgat's determinations, along with relevant statements by V. Christian (*Altertumskunde des Zweistromlandes*, vol. i, Leipzig, 1940). A chart (p. 33) lists the different names given by these

three authors to the subsequent periods of the fourth and third millennium. In view of the diversity of the nomenclature in works on ancient Near Eastern archæology, such a guide will be greatly appreciated.

In the second section, entitled "Geography and Civilization", Borowski attempts a synthesis of the development of civilization in the Near East based on the archæological evidence. Despite its general and provisional character such an effort is welcome, if only because it reveals existing gaps in our knowledge and provides an incentive for further research.

The third section, "Historical and Epigraphic Basis of the Chronology of Seal Engraving in the Third, and at the Beginning of the Second Millennium," is the most useful to the specialist, since it contains a list of all the dated seals and impressions of that period. This list, with its more recent material, supersedes the one published by Unger in 1926 (*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. iv, 2).

Chapter II contains a commentary on seals described in the "Descriptive Catalogue" which forms the third and last chapter of the book. Short characterizations of the glyptic style of the successive periods precede the discussion of individual seals. A wealth of material is adduced for the documentation of each piece; and the comments on style and iconography often raise interesting points.

The seals themselves offer little of special interest. One piece, no. 25, presents an exact duplicate of a cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library (*Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, vol. i, 1948, 144). The Morgan cylinder is made of hard black serpentine and unquestionably genuine. However, the Metropolitan Museum possesses a gypsum duplicate of this piece, which shows that copies of it were made. Moreover, the cylinder described by Borowski as of light green serpentine seems to have at least one vertical "seam" (between bull and bullman) which might indicate the junction of a mould. Without inspection of the original of no. 25, this suggestion for the otherwise inexplicable and unparalleled duplication of a cylinder can be tentative only.

As the collection of seals on which he had to work is not in itself of paramount importance, Borowski can be all the more congratulated on having produced such an interesting and stimulating book.

EDITH PORADA.

ARABIC. By CHAIM RABIN. pp. viii + 172. Lund Humphries, 1947.

The "word by word" vocabularies supplied and the grammatical notes, together with the variety in subject-matter, make this modern literary Arabic reader a real and reliable help to anyone seeking accuracy as well as competence in this study. The whole lay-out is planned with thoroughness, so much so that a dominie of the older school might have complained that too little had been left for initiative. Paper, fount, and convenience in size add to its serviceableness.

A. H. HARLEY.

Far East

THE FIRST HOLY ONE. By MAURICE COLLIS. 9 × 6, pp. 235 + 4 maps. Faber and Faber, 1948. 18*s*.

There is a story of a Chinese who invited friends to appraise his portrait. "I like the hat," one ventured. "The coat," said his wife, "is just like yours." "And the beard," said another relative. Similar will be the judgment on Mr. Collis' sketch of Confucius. Sinologues may no more accept this fantasy as a picture of the real China than they would accept the willow pattern of its crockery. But like the author's other books, this is eminently readable.

MALAYA'S FIRST BRITISH PIONEER: THE LIFE OF FRANCIS LIGHT. By H. P. CLODD. pp. i–xiv, 1–66. Luzac and Co., 1948. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This fascinating book on the founder of Penang fills a gap in Malayan history and provides the first scholarly Life of an ardent pioneer to whom Raffles appears to have owed a considerable debt: our foothold in the Malay peninsula, the example of free trade, and a sympathetic regard for the Asiatic. Mr. Clodd's account of the mother of Light's children is interesting. He points out she was probably a Roman Catholic and this (though he does not notice it) may have been a bar to their marriage.

There are a few minor errors. Sir Almond Stanley (p. 145) is always Sir Edmond in the local Gazette. Neither Colonel MacAlister nor Archibald Seton fell a victim to the climate; the former only acted temporarily as Governor and the latter returned to India with Minto. But Colonel Bannerman did not long outlive his jealousy

of Raffles' Singapore: he reached Penang in December, 1817, a died there in August, 1819.

This excellent book will be of interest to all students of history of the East India Company.

C. E. WURTZBURG

THERE IS ANOTHER CHINA. 8½ × 5½, pp. i–viii + 1–178. N York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1948. 15s

A collection of essays written two years ago in honour of seventieth birthday of Chang Poling, the founder of the Nan University in Tientsin. The essays which concern sundry factor Chinese history and culture are by one Chinese and eleven Ameri authors, and are of varying merit and appropriateness. T contributed by Dr. Hu Shih is an interesting sketch of Chang Po himself; the others deal with subjects so diverse that any j appreciation of them is not possible in a short notice.

E. B. HOWELL

MALAYA AND ITS HISTORY. By R. O. WINSTEDT. 7½ × 5¼, pp. 1 Hutchinson's University Library, 1948.

This very readable volume is the first complete history of Mala published in Britain. In it is included a great deal of new informati on the Hindu period, based on material revealed since the autho *History of Malaya* was published in 1935. Moreover, in 1937, Paris Tomé Pires' *Suma Orientalis* was found by Mr. Corte who has translated it for the Hakluyt Society (1944): it was writt in 1512–15 and lost for 400 years. But now its discovery has enab Sir Richard Winstedt to use what is probably the most valuable all contemporary Portuguese accounts of Malacca under the Ma Sultans; and this has greatly enriched those chapters describing age of Malay rule about which not much was known.

The sections dealing with mediaeval Malay trade and law, wh are largely based on the research made by the author for his bo *The Malays* (Singapore, 1947), are of particular value and inter and contain much new material.

About half the book is devoted to prehistory and the Middle Ag with a brief account of the coming of the different racial eleme which constitute but have never fused the Peninsular populati

The other half deals with the establishment and development of British power and policy, the rule of law and the growth of industry and commerce. The story runs lucidly even in the telling of the somewhat complicated Buddhist, Hindu, and Chinese influences on the Malay people of the country.

A few corrections should be made. Thus, on p. 40, l. 12, "reach" is to be read for "leave"; on p. 41, l. 19, June 6th should be July 26th; on p. 130, l. 20, "two centuries later" should be read for "a century, etc."; and on p. 137, l. 16, "Empress of India" should be "Empress of Asia".

A very useful bibliography is supplied and an index completes a valuable addition to the Malayan library.

J. E. KEMPE.

CONSTANCE PHAULKON—MÉMOIRE SUR LA VIE DE. PAR PÈRE DE BEZE. pp. XIX + 282. Tokyo: Presses Salesiennes, 1947.

This long narrative of the life and death of Constance Phaulkon, the Greek adventurer who became Prime Minister to King Narai of Siam (1656-1688), fell into the hands of Dr. Morrison, the well-known *Times'* correspondent in Peking. The Doctor's library was purchased by Baron Iwasaki in 1917, and the MS. under review is now in the Toyo Bunko, or Oriental Library, of Tokyo.

It was written in France about 1691 by Père de Beze, one of a group of Jesuit fathers who arrived in Siam in September, 1687, at the request of Phaulkon, with whom Père de Beze remained in close contact until Phaulkon's execution by the Siamese usurper in June, 1688.

The full manuscript has now been published, with notes and a number of relative documents, by Jean Drans, Acting French Director at the "Maison Franco-Japonaise", and Father Henri Bernard, S.J., Professor at the "Hautes Etudes de Tientsin".

Certain use has already been made of the MS. by E. W. Hutchinson in his *Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (published by the Royal Asiatic Society). In his Introduction he gives an account of how the document came to be found in the Oriental Library at Tokyo, and in Appendix VIII he quotes extracts relating to (1) the conversion (or reconversion) of Mm. Constance and his wife's family, and (2) the origin and rise of Phaulkon.

From the preface to the narrative Hutchinson draws the inference,

I think, rightly, that it was addressed to Père de la Chaise, t Confessor to Louis XIV and the most influential Jesuit in Fran and was not written primarily for publication. For this reas and for his confirmation of much of the picture drawn by t "English Catholic", Hutchinson considers Père de Bese a relial witness.

That Père de Bese knew Phaulkon well is clear, since he succeed Père Tachard as his secretary; and, in spite of some rueful refl tions on Phaulkon's moral backsliding, he seems to have acquir a genuine affection for the man. He gives a full and detail account, from his own Jesuit point of view, of all that took pla in Siam during the nine months between his arrival and Phaulkon death, but he has not fully resolved, in my mind, the enigma Phaulkon's character.

Phaulkon was an ambitious man and there is little doubt th he hoped to become Governor of Siam under French sovereignt He was certainly no coward for, when his plan miscarried, he we to his death calmly and with resignation.

His sea adventures and shipwrecks show, too, that he had l share of pluck and grit.

He was a good linguist and an accomplished diplomatist: t English merchants appeared very clumsy in his hands. He mu have known, however, that his chances of success were very slig and when the king, his master, fell seriously ill the game w obviously up.

REGINALD LE MAY.

TRAITÉ DES EXAMENS. Pub. Ernest Leroux. Paris, 1932. TRAI DES FONCTIONNAIRES ET TRAITÉ DE L'ARMÉE. 2 vols. Pu E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1947–8. By M. ROBERT DES ROTOURS.

One of the most formidable difficulties confronting the reader T'ang literature has been the mass of official titles and techni administrative terms, which appear on almost every page of a text and have been all too frequently ignored or misunderstood translators. M. des Rotours' work on the administrative system the T'ang dynasty, the first fruits of which appeared in the form a monograph on the provincial officials in the T'oung Pao of 19 has now been completed in three highly important volumes und review. Though the author has based his work upon the text

chapters 44–50 of the Hsin T'ang Shu, the word "translation" is a wholly inadequate description. The original editors of the Hsin T'ang Shu drew upon a large number of sources, many now lost, many surviving in a form very corrupt and abbreviated often beyond the limit of intelligibility. The first task of the translator, therefore, is to collect a mass of other works, some very bulky, some rare, from which to recover enough of the original sources to turn any translation from a guess into a reasonable certainty. The scrupulous industry of M. des Rotours and his extreme modesty make these volumes models for younger workers in the same field. This monumental piece of research is invaluable not merely to the specialized historian, but equally to the general reader, who will find in the indices an indispensable glossary of administrative terminology. It is to be hoped that no one will ever venture to translate any T'ang text without consulting these volumes.

The author's main concern has been to interpret the text as a philologist, rather than to comment upon its implications as a historian; and he has therefore largely ignored the evidence to be found in the collected works of T'ang writers. This is sometimes a pity. Thus, in the long and valuable introduction on the T'ang militia system contained in vol. i of *Traité des Fonctionnaires et Traité de l'Armée*, no mention is made of the birthday memorials presented by Chang Chiu Ling to the emperor Hsüan Tsung in 736, though these contain what is probably the earliest account of this system that we possess. Also a note might well have been devoted to the Ch'u (or Shu) Mi Yüan, the Central Intelligence Bureau, staffed by eunuchs, and the main instrument of their political domination during the latter half of the dynasty. For though this Bureau was so detested that no mention is made of it by the editors of either T'ang history in the monographs devoted to officials, or by encyclopaedists before Ma Tuan-Lin, its place in the history of the T'ang administrative system is of the greatest importance. In certain small details not every reader will be able to subscribe to the author's translation, but to carry criticism further would be both ungrateful and presumptuous.

J. K. RIDEOUT.

L'ART DU CHAMPA. By PH. STERN. 11 × 8¼, pp. 122, pls. 64. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1942. 21*s*.

Though students of Cham art will continue to be indebted to

M. Parmentier, it would seem certain that his cumbrous chronology can now be safely discarded in favour of the system here proposed and brilliantly sustained. It is to M. Stern's earlier researches that we also largely owe the clearing up of the Khmer tangle, and with Cham art the difficulties were greater. A mistake in Khmer epigraphy had long prevented recognition of a really evident art evolution. In Cham art a reliance on frequently displaced inscriptions had been responsible for much confusion, but here the task of the art historian is complicated by the effect of intense foreign influences (Javanese and Khmer) which at certain periods obscured the working of the Cham genius and produced astonishing anomalies. One can but admire the skilful manner with which M. Stern applies his technique, perfected in the course of years, to this exacting undertaking. Though he claims no absolute proofs, his probabilities seem in most cases to amount to certainty.

In the first section are studied in turn those features of architectural decoration most clearly showing evolutionary change. In a second part this material is organized so as to establish a chronological series of styles. The most spectacular change concerns that masterpiece, the temple Mi-So'n A-1, formerly considered to be the oldest Cham tower of non-perishable material, a remarkable creation *ex nihilo*, now seen as the climax of a long evolution and dating probably from the end of the ninth century. Foreign influences are next considered and the evidence they provide for dating. The evolution of the sculpture, for which M. Stern believes his results less decisive, is dealt with in an appendix. However, the main developments would seem in little doubt, for here, as throughout the book, one is impressed by the detailed attention given to the all-important matter of the connecting links between each style. Finally the author shows convincingly how the difficulties encountered by M. Parmentier disappear in the light of the new chronology.

While M. Stern tells us so admirably "what" has happened, he does not broach the deeper questions "how?" and "why?". For this a different method, one which gives adequate weight *inter alia* to the evidence of proto-history, and even a different attitude of mind, are required. But in fixing the chronology and delineating each succeeding art style he has provided a large part of the essential basis from which this further step can be attempted.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

CANTONESE PRIMER. By YUEN REN CHAO. 6 × 9, pp. 1–242. 22*s*.

CANTONESE PRIMER, CHARACTER TEXT OF. 7½ × 10, pp. 1–115. 14*s*. Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege.

These two volumes are a boon for students as well as teachers of the Cantonese dialect. The twenty-four lessons, consisting mainly of conversations and narratives, are well-graded, varied, interesting, full of useful idioms and vocabulary, and comprehensive in examples of Cantonese syntax.

Professor Yuen Ren Chao gives us, in his own fascinating style, a lucid introduction which describes the Chinese language and its characters. Teachers and students alike will benefit from hints based on his vast experience of the "Method of Study", for the nine tones with two more modified tones in Cantonese are somewhat overwhelming for beginners.

As regards the system of Romanization, devised by the author, a beginner may regret that Professor Chao does not save him from the perplexities of the aspirated and unaspirated initials k, p, t (*i.e.* k' k, p' p, t' t), adopted in other writers' systems, by substituting initials k g, p b, t d, as he has done in the "National Romanization" for Mandarin. In this Cantonese Romanization system k and g, p and b, t and d are used as distinguishing initials for the two pitches, high and low, in the general Chinese tone-pattern. As modern Cantonese has three pitches it seems a pity that k and g, p and b, t and d have been earmarked for the arbitrary division of two pitches instead of being employed as aspirated and unaspirated initials k, p, t, to make reading Cantonese less difficult for the English-speaking beginner; for ph is almost as bad as p' for a beginner, and to make bh equal to "an initial aspirated p of a low-pitched tone" needs some working out.

Apart from the fact that the Romanization system seems a little difficult to master this Primer is an excellent manual, complete in itself, with exercises after each lesson and with a Vocabulary and Index to Notes. There are also records for all the lessons.

K. P. K. WHITTAKER.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIANS OF THE FAR EAST. 11 × 7½, pp. 330 + pls. cxxi. Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1940. £1 3*s*. 4*d*.

Proposed nineteen years ago by Dr. van Stein Callenfels, the idea of these triennial Congresses has led to three important conferences,

at Hanoi, Manila, and Singapore, the proceedings including papers by workers from Wu-ping to Sydney, with illustrations of material from that vast area. Since the last Congress, at Singapore in 1938, many of the delegates have passed away. And the loss to prehistory of Dr. Callenfels and Mlle. Dr. Colani is incalculable.

Here one paper by Mlle. Colani traces in Tonkin a stone prototype for the tiny Indonesian reaping-knife; and another discovers in Indochina a sun-cult, "probably associated with megoliths." Dr. Callenfels and Mr. Noone (since killed) record from Perak the first discovery in the Far East of three types of burial together; in the lowest layer, flexed; in the middle, secondary; in the upper, the ordinary modern type. In another paper Dr. Callenfels has dropped his theory that the round-axe reached Celebes and Papua only from Japan and the north; its presence in Cambodia, Malaya, and Sumatra indicating a second source, possibly Indian. Neolithic finds by Chinese scholars at Wu-ping provide evidence for a Malaysian culture in South China. Dr. van der Hoop writes of prehistoric Chinese faking of beads of Egyptian type for the Malaysian market. In an exhaustive and admirable paper Mr. F. D. McCarthy compares the prehistory of Australia with that of Indo-china and Malaysia, and Dr. G. H. R. von Koenigswald supplies a "Preliminary note on new remains of *Pithecanthropus* from Central Java". In all there are twenty-eight papers.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

ADAT LAW IN INDONESIA. By B. TER HAAR. Translated from the Dutch and edited with an Introduction by E. A. Hoebel and A. A. Schiller. 8 × 5½, pp. xiv + 255. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948.

Hitherto British students ignorant of Dutch have had no general work on this subject except a translation of one of Vollenhoven's books by Mdlle. N. Pernot, *La découverte du droit indonesien* (Paris, 1933). Professor B. ter Haar, before he died in a Nazi concentration camp, had striven to maintain this law as a living law. But the only branch of it extant in Netherlands India (as in Malaya) is civil law, and here is an ambitious and successful attempt to elicit its general characteristics in nineteen different areas. A useful bibliography shows how the Dutch student can supplement his reading from special works on many of the areas, though much material remains

to be collected—as, also, in Malaya, where it is time that sources like the case-books of the Commissioner of Lands and of the Collectors were gleaned for a comprehensive book.

The translation is generally clear, although for a word like "re-capture" of land the English would use "resumption", and instead of a phrase like "the situation has to be litigated", they would write "there has to be litigation".

R. O. WINSTEDT.

India

ŚRAMAṆA BHAGAVĀN MAHĀVĪRA. By MUNI RATNA PRABHA VIJAYA. Vol. I, Part I (Fifteen Previous Bhavas). pp. 29, 212; 5 plates, 1941. Rs. 2/8. Vol. II, Part I. pp. 19, 4, 284; 6 plates, 1942. Rs. 3. Vol. III: Gaṇadhara-vāda. pp. 36, 538; 1 plate, 1942. Rs. 4. Vol. IV, Part I: Sthavirāvalī. pp. 5, 209; 3 plates, 1941. Rs. 2/8. Śrī Grantha Prakāśaka Sabhā: Ahmedabad.

These volumes are the pious work of a doctor who, after a successful practice of thirty-five years, took *dīkṣā* as a Jain monk. Unfortunately they belie the promise of the author's scientific training, and contain only a mass of ill-assorted material taken for the most part from the Kalpasūtra and the Bṛhat Kalpasūtra. Vol. i, pt. i, presents an account of Jain Cosmogony, Biology, and Doctrine mingled with legends of fifteen previous births of Mahāvīra and interlarded with quotations from Sanskrit and Prakrit. Vol. ii, pt. i, deals with the twenty-seventh and final birth of Mahāvīra. Vol. iii is the best of the set. Here we find published, apparently for the first time, the Gaṇadhara-vāda section of the seventh or eighth century Viśeṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya of Jinabhadragaṇi with Maladhāri Hemacandra's commentary. Although only a commentary on a commentary on the original Āvaśyaka, the Bhāṣya is important because of its age. There is a Sanskrit *chāyā* and an English translation, but the text is not critical and no information is given on the source from which it is derived. Vol. iv, pt. i, contains a list and legends of apostles and saints, with many incidental and often irrelevant tales, such as the well-known fable of the Man in the Well (here Madhu Bindu or Drop of Honey).

All quotations are given in Nāgarī characters and also, quite unnecessarily, in roman script. Sources are rarely indicated and

even then imperfectly. The volumes might have been dismissed as intended only for the uncritical amateur of the curious and the unknown, but an insert in the first volume makes it clear that they are offered to College Students. For such they are most unsuitable.

ALFRED MASTER.

A HISTORY OF THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF ANDHRADESA, c. A.D. 200–625. By BHAVARAJU VENKATA KRISHNARAO, M.A., B.L. pp. ii, xi, 716; 2 maps. Madras: V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 1942. 4to.

The aim of this volume is to present a history of the many dynasties which pullulated in Telingana after the collapse of the Sātavāhana empire, to wit, the Ikṣvākus, Pallavas, Bṛhat-phalāyanas, Ānandas, Sālaṅkāyanas, Māṭharas, Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Eastern Gaṅgas, Śailōdbhavas, Śarabhapura Rajas, and Nalas. To this end Mr. Venkata Krishnarao has laboured most industriously, collected a very large mass of materials, and on the basis of this constructed a series of narratives, in which are necessarily included many conjectures, some of them very ingenious.

The historian of ancient India needs accurate knowledge of epigraphy and linguistics, together with critical judgment and a sense of probabilities. A few instances taken from the first chapters must tend to raise some doubt whether our author quite fulfils these conditions. On p. 7 he serves up that stale old dish, the pandits' derivation of *Telugu* from *Triliṅga*. Then on the next page he startles us with the announcement that "the language of the Andhra country during the period of the Śātavāhana Empire was a form of Prakrit known to the Grammarians by the name Paiśācī", after which comes on p. 9 the amazing conjecture that "it might be that the modern Andhra language . . . was an off-shoot of the dead Paiśācī dialect or the parent Andhra language, with the Nāga basis, enlarged and altered through centuries". This is nonsense. As every sound philologer knows, "the modern Andhra language," i.e. Telugu, is essentially a Dravidian tongue. The Prakrit of the early Andhra inscriptions, however it may be classed, is Indo-Aryan and therefore alien to the country; it does not represent the native speech of Telingana any more than an edict of Aśoka at Maski represents the native tongue of that region. His attempt to prove that the Ikṣvākus were Brahmans (pp. 36 ff.)

is wholly unconvincing. He occasionally "sees snakes", for by misreading some inscriptions he has invented Nāgas that never existed: thus, out of the names written *Khaṃdaviśākhaṇṇaka* and *Khaṃdasāgaraṇṇaga* he has created a *Skanda Viśākha Nāga* and a *Skanda Sāgara Nāga*, ignoring the well known fact that *-aṇṇaka* or *-aṇṇaga* represents the common honorific affix *-aṇṇa* which is still in use throughout the Deccan (p. 40). Equally incorrect is his sanskritization of the names *Cāṃtamūla* and *Cāṃtiśiri* as *Śāṃtamūla* and *Śāṃti-śrī*; and his derivation of *Haṃmasiri* from *Brahmaśrī* or *Brāhmī-śrī* (p. 41, etc.) is patently absurd. He has wrongly transliterated the name *Khaṃdacalikireṃmaṇaka* and transliterated it as *Skanda Caliki-raṇaka* (p. 41 f.), with some equally mistaken remarks on p. 47 n.; and the name of the third Ikṣvāku king, which is engraved on two inscriptions as *Ehuvala* and *Ehuvuḷa*, he has arbitrarily altered to *Bahubala* (pp. 50 f., 55). Within the same area of the book we find a considerable crop of minor errors of a sort only too plentiful in Indian books. Thus we see often "opus" abbreviated as "opi", and "matronymic" is frequently used for "metronymic". The name of our lamented friend Professor Keith appears repeatedly as "Kieth", and on p. 200 as "Sir A. B. Kieth". A blunder of another and much graver kind occurs on p. 39, l. 7, where the author speaks of "Brāhmans of the Mānavyasa-*gōtra*" (cf. p. 151, etc.). No such *gōtra* ever existed: what he should have written is "Mānavya-sagōtra Brāhmans" or "Brāhmans of the Mānavya-gōtra".

Mr. Venkata Krishnarao's explanation of the origin of the Pallavas—to wit, from a Pahlava or Parthian who *fit fortune* and whose family sanskritized this racial name and invented a legend to match—is one that I have advocated for many years. But I think he goes too far in claiming that this particular parent of the lineage was the same as the Pahlava Suviśākha known from the Junagadh inscription; there were doubtless scores of other Pahlava adventurers who could have fitted the part. And it was quite needless to devote ten quarto pages of large print to the refutation of antiquated theories on the subject.

Lack of space forbids me to pick holes in the subsequent pages; but I may mention as a curious instance of failure to see the obvious that our author insists on taking the word *dṛṣṭiviṣa* as the personal name of a particular Nāga king (pp. 192, 297), whereas on his own showing it is a synonym for *nāga*, meaning either a snake or a Nāga

generally, which is all that is required by the sense of the passage quoted. And I may add that the reasoning on p. 566 seems to be confused.

It would, however, be hardly just to take *pars pro toto* and pronounce a verdict of unqualified condemnation on the book because of errors such as these. Despite many mistakes both of form and of matter, the work is meritorious: it contains a large mass of materials, and on not a few points its judgments may be accepted. But while the student of history should be grateful for this contribution, he will be well advised to exercise some caution in using its statements and conclusions.

L. D. BARNETT.

AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA. By R. C. MAJUMDAR, H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI, and KALIKINKAR DATTA. Second edition. pp. ix, i, 1081; 10 maps. London: Macmillan and Co., 1948.

One of the most hopeful features in the mental life of modern India is its thirst for history. Schools, colleges, and universities pursue this study with vigour. The favours of Clio are not easy to win: she loves to walk, especially in the domain of India's past, through darkling ways, *πόροι κατιδεῖν ἄφραστοι*. But her Indian suitors have urged their quest with courage and often with notable skill, and their labours have borne fruit in a large number of works, many of high merit. In this book three distinguished Indian scholars have collaborated in order to produce for advanced students an outline of their country's history from the earliest ages down to our time, in which are summarized the main results of modern studies. In this they have been on the whole very successful. Their attitude is generally fair and reasonable, their narrative lucid and straightforward. Naturally specialists, particularly in the realm of ancient Indian annals, on which opinions are very often divergent, will find food for criticism in some of the views presented; but our authors may justly claim a right to their opinions.

It must, however, be acknowledged that in at least one respect their work shows some lack of proportion. They are Bengalis whose studies have been mainly concerned with the history of Northern India; and this has led them to allot a very small space to the annals of the great kingdoms of the South from the decline of the Sātavāhanas to the end of the rule of the Calukyas, the Cōḷas, and

their epigoni (pp. 172–180 and 188–190). In some minor matters also there is room for improvement. Thus, the account of administration on p. 71 f. seems a little too summary and hardly critical enough; and the statement on p. 81 that "another [highway] stretched from Rājagṛiha in South Bihār by way of Śrāvastī in Oudh to the banks of the Godāvarī" contradicts the facts, for the highway ran from Śrāvastī through Rājagṛha to the Godāvarī. The diacritic marking length of vowels is so often misplaced that one is led to think that the authors would have done better to have never used it at all. To quote a few examples, we find *passim* errors such as "Konkān", "Mālābār", "Peshāwār", "Māndālay", "Kathakāli", "'Āli", "'Ālīvardī" (for "Ilahvirdī"), "Kāshmīr", "Wāzir", and both "Qāsim" and "Kāsim", with other inconsistencies in representing the Arabic gutturals. On p. 71 we note with sorrow the misspelling "diarchy"; on p. 202 f. we regret to see Basava presented as "Vasava", while on p. 203 Vātsyāyana appears as "Vātsāyana", both errors being due to the influence of Bengali pronunciation. It is disagreeable also to meet hybrid spellings of names such as "Hyder 'Āli" and "Omdut-ul-Umarā".

In a work of this kind there should have been some recognition of Warren Hastings' enlightened and successful efforts to revive Hindu education and law; its absence is to be regretted.

This book, now in its second edition, will surely be soon reprinted; and then, we hope, blemishes will be eliminated.

L. D. BARNETT.

MAʾĀṢIR-I-'ĀLAMGĪRĪ OF SĀQĪ MUSTʿAD KHĀN. Translated and edited by Sir JADUNATH SARKAR. 9½ × 6½, pp. vii + 350. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1947.

THE TRAVELS OF THE ABBÉ CARRÉ IN INDIA AND THE NEAR EAST, 1672 TO 1674. Translated by Lady FAWCETT and edited by Sir CHARLES FAWCETT and Sir RICHARD BURN. Vol. I, 9 × 5½, pp. lvi + 315. Vol. II, pp. xxiv, 317–675. Vol. III, pp. xxiii, 677–984. Hakluyt Society and Bernard Quaritch, 1947.

These volumes contain contemporary accounts of India during the reign of Aurangzeb. It may seem strange at first sight that English historians have concentrated on the reign of Akbar and that, with the exception of W. H. Moreland's scholarly studies of the social and economic condition of Mughal India, the only

authoritative account of Aurangzeb is that of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. But, whereas the principal Persian sources for Akbar's reign have been translated into English, Sir Jadunath's version of the *Maāsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* is the first complete translation of any Persian history relating to the decline of the empire under Aurangzeb. It is to be hoped that Professor Sarkar will provide us with translations of the *'Ālamgīr-nāma* and other sources covering the period 1658–1707.

Sāqī Must'ad Khān's history, based as it is upon official records, is of great value for the last forty years of the reign. It contains many indications of the political and religious intolerance of this bigoted monarch. We learn that during the war of succession he claimed the throne as the champion of orthodox Islam against the heretical principles and practices of his brother Dārā Shukoh. The *kalima* or Muhammadan confession of faith was removed from all gold and silver coins lest it should be trampled underfoot or otherwise defiled by unbelievers. *Muhtasibs* (censors of morals), comparable to the *dharma-mahāmātras* of Asoka, were appointed to suppress unorthodox practices. Courtiers were forbidden to salute in the Hindu fashion. Hindu schools and temples were destroyed and the *jizya* was reimposed.

Lady Fawcett's translation of the Abbé Carré's *Le Courier de l'Orient* has been edited with scrupulous accuracy by Sir Charles Fawcett and the late Sir Richard Burn. There are already detailed and authoritative works on the French East India Company and the editors had access to A. Martineau's *Mémoires de François Martin* and to P. Kaeppelin's *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*. Except for Malleson's inaccurate *History of the French in India* the subject has been neglected by English scholars. A rotograph copy of Carré's manuscript was acquired by the University of Calcutta and was one of the many sources used by Mr. S. P. Sen in his valuable study of *The French in India*, published in 1947.

The value of Carré's work, apart from topographical details of his routes from France and the Middle East to Surat, Goa, Bijapur, and Southern India, lies in his frank exposure of the weakness of French administrative methods compared with those of their Dutch and English rivals. He does not scruple to advertise the unfortunate dissensions that paralysed their efforts in the east and points out that the arrangements at the ports and dockyards for the refitting of French vessels were dilatory in the extreme. He denounces the vices of the Portuguese settlers in no uncertain terms. "If I

had to describe what occurs in Goa, Chaul, Bassein, Daman, and other Portuguese places, I should have to write a book containing an account of all imaginable vices in the world." In the third volume the Abbé describes his return journey to France. It is interesting to note that instead of ascending the Shatt-al-Dijla branch of the Tigris, he used the Shatt-al-Hai of which he left a detailed account.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

STRUCTURE GRAMMATICALE DES LANGUES DRAVIDIENNES. Par JULES BLOCH. pp. xii, 110; 1 plate. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1946.

A book by Professor Jules Bloch is always an event for Indian philology. The size of the present work, however, warns us not to expect too much, and this inference is confirmed by the introduction (p. xii). "La présente esquisse ne prétend qu'à... dégager les caractéristiques de la grammaire dravidienne... en proposant à l'occasion quelques hypothèses imparfaites sur l'aspect ancien des éléments morphologiques."

The book is arranged in a way which is easy to follow and is convenient for reference. Two pages of generalities are followed by twenty-one on the Noun under the headings of gender, number, and case. Pronouns have nine pages, Pronominalized Nouns seven, and the Verb thirty-five with sub-headings of flexion, verb-stems (non-temporal stems and the negative; temporal stems past, future and present) under the Personal Verb, of infinitive, relative participle and absolutive under Non-personal forms and finally, Compound and auxiliary Verbs. Twenty pages are devoted to the Sentence, and after a short summing up a useful map follows, which needs correction according to the instructions in a loose correction sheet. The absence of the categories of adjective, adverb, postposition and particle makes for simplification and enables attention to be concentrated on the noun and the verb. The adjective is classed as a noun and the other parts of speech are dealt with incidentally.

There is an inclination to look at the facts through Indo-aryan and even Latin-French spectacles and it is for the reader to judge whether this is an advantage or not. In any case, the facts are well presented and the hypotheses drawn from them suggestive.

Many things provoke comment and it is impossible to mention

them all here. The documentation is scanty and the frequent misprints and other errors are consequently hard to trace. Conclusions are sometimes based on erroneous data. A few examples are given below.

p. 8, l. 7 from bottom. Tel. tammulār-ā O younger brothers (not *o pères*) should be written tammul-ārā, as -ārā is also used for inferior nouns, unlike the termination -ru. 6 from bottom. The endings of kolankulu, etc., are -lu, not -kulu, as stated on p. 9.9.

p. 17.2. Although the sign for -n (drutamu) is optional in writing, its phonetic effect remains and changes a following initial k, c, ṭ, t and p to g, j, ḍ, d and b. But when these letters follow words not entitled to -n, they are changed to g, s, ḍ, d and v.

p. 34.4 from bottom. Vaṇṭa cēsēdi, vaṇṭa cēsēvāramu are predicates, not sentences, meaning "she who cooks habitually, we who cook habitually". 47.2. For *nom* read *verbe*.

p. 51.10. The theory of an intercalated vowel, which subsequently disappeared, to express negation, is generally accepted, but has never been satisfactorily explained. "The Zero Negative in Dravidian" TPS 1946, p. 137, challenges this view. p. 67.27. Uṇḍi means "having been", not "eating". p. 70.9 from bottom. Tol. Eḻ. Sū. l. eṉappaṭupa they are said, shows that the passive was used in the oldest Tamil.

The English reader will be puzzled by the statement that Dravidian has no adjectives (32.12 from bottom). In spite of Kittel (who was a German), English grammatical theory admits of Dravidian adjectives and Dravidian grammar distinguishes them from nouns.

ALFRED MASTER.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS. By MADHUKAR ANANT MEHENDALE. 10 × 6, pp. xxxviii, 345. Poona, 1948. Price Rs. 21.

Dr. Mehendale gives here an analysis and a systematic arrangement of the linguistic material of the Pk. Inscriptions. They range from the middle of the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. There are five main parts: the Aśokan Inscriptions studied comparatively, and then the later Pk. Inscriptions from West, South, Centre and North. Synoptic tables summarize the results of the

investigations and are arranged in a space-time sequence. The material presented by the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions is tabulated separately. Here, for the first time, as the author asserts (¶ 6), an attempt is made to decide the movements of linguistic changes in the field of MIA. But how far can we agree with the author when he says (¶ 2), " they (Pk. Inscriptions) are essentially recorded by the people, and for the people which naturally lead them to be of the people " ? Even inscriptional Prakrits have a stylized form, and the influence of one pattern of Prakrit over other regional Prakrits cannot be neglected. On the other hand, the importance of the material presented here cannot be minimized. The comparative survey, arranged and tabulated systematically, affords a future possibility of co-ordinating similar results from the Jain Canonical literature and other early Prakrits. Then only can we have a reliable account of MIA.

A few points may be noted here.

The author often speaks of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, e.g. ¶ 270b, ¶ 272d, ¶ 505. The terms assimilation and dissimilation are not used to denote vowel changes.

¶ 8, " The peculiar form hage used in Magadhi for nom. pl. of the first person pronoun . . ." But hage is used in Magadhi for nom. sg.

Dr. Mehendale often speaks of scribes' mistakes in the cases of changes in word patterns, e.g. ¶ 165c, " change ā > a takes place irregularly in some cases and may be ascribed to scribes' negligence," and also a similar remark at ¶ 271d. These " irregular " changes cannot always be imputed to scribes' negligence, but often have their basis in current usage. For example, under the above head we get aroga < ārogya L 1126 Nasik iv; vasaṭhiputa L 1120 Nanaghat ii, which cannot be imputed to scribes.

¶ 173 iii the author derives gharini from Sk. gṛhiṇī with a footnote : Pk. ghara > IE *g^{w}horo and not Sk. gṛha-. The derivation is disputed and the author should have at least mentioned the source (Turner *BSOS.*, vol. iii, p. 401, and Nepali Dictionary *ghar.*).

But these are minor points. We congratulate Dr. Mehendale for exploring this field of MIA, and eagerly await the second volume which will contain an index verborum of the inscriptions, an edition of the Pk. inscriptions other than the Aśokan, the Kharoṣṭhī, and the Barhut, Udayagiri and Khandagiri.

P. Pandit.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. With an Introductory Essay, Sanskrit Text, English Translation and Notes. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. pp. 388, 8 × 5¼. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1948. 10s. 6d.

The editor of this work remarks that the *Bhagavadgītā* is more a religious classic than a philosophical treatise. It represents "not merely Hinduism but religion as such, in its universality, without limit of time or space". The systems of Hindu philosophy are "so many points of view or darśanas which are mutually complementary and not contradictory". Hence, most of what he says lies beyond the purview of this *Journal*. He has a long and important essay, in which he gives a fair account of the commentators beginning with Śankara, and then goes on to expound the religious significance, with many allusions to Pagan and Christian authors. His references are not always exact, and it is surprising to be told what Montesquieu was saying "as late as 1848". The whole subject will doubtless be of great interest to those who like Mr. Aldous Huxley find the *Gītā* to be "the most systematic statement of the Perennial Philosophy". The work has a real value in that a transliterated text of the *Gītā* is given with a close translation, which should be of solid help to serious inquirers.

E. J. THOMAS.

A SURVEY OF ANCIENT SITES ALONG THE LOST SARASVATI RIVER. By Sir AUREL STEIN. *The Geographical Journal*, April, 1942. 9 pp. of letterpress and sketch map.

This is an original contribution which owes very little to former work and is all the more valuable for this in a way; it carries the authority of Sir Aurel Stein's great name and vast experience. Still one could wish that the author had given us the benefit of his criticism of existing material. The archæological results are of essential value. The late Dr. L. P. Tessitori had already explored the eastern sites, and would have continued but for his untimely death at Bikaner in November, 1919.[1] The conclusions of Sir Aurel Stein are based on three months' field work (December, 1940, to March, 1941) during which he covered 260 miles, a remarkable achievement. Prehistoric mounds indicated by the characteristic ceramic ware were traced from Phulra right down the Hakra to Derawar; the sites above Phulra are usually of early historical

[1] *Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1917–18 and 1918–19.

times to the Kushan period. As regards the much debated lost river of the Indian Desert, the author holds that the main change was due to the River Sutlej having in late prehistoric times abandoned the bed which formerly joined the Ghaggar, an opinion founded on a careful study of the maps recently prepared for the new Sutlej Valley Irrigation Project.

The late Mr. H. W. Nicholson, C.I.E., who had much to do with the fieldwork on which these maps are based, formed a different opinion; he held that it was water from the Jumna, and not from the Sutlej, which made the lost river Hakra.[1] Possibly the two views are not mutually exclusive. After a wet summer like that of the year 1917, the ancient spill-ways in the desert must be full of water, and an aerial survey might prove a revelation.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

NUMISMATIC PARALLELS OF KĀLIDĀSA. By C. SIVARAMAMURTI. 7¼ × 5, pp. xvi–40. Madras: Shakti Karyalayam, 1945. Rs. 2.

This attractive little book was written and illustrated by the Curator of the Archæological Section of the Madras Museum; it completes the trilogy which he had planned in his studies of the poet Kālidāsa. Every design on an ancient Hindu coin has a purpose and a meaning; outstanding pieces are described and elucidated by an artist and poet in the light of quotations from Kālidāsa's works. This new method of approach is welcome, although we do not know to what extent coin pictures have been inspired by classical poets; it is more true to say that they are based on a fund of ideas common to literature and art.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

THE BRITISH ACHIEVEMENT IN INDIA. By H. G. RAWLINSON. 8½ × 5½, pp. 248. W. Hodge and Co., Ltd., 1948.

This readable book recounts lucidly and concisely what British rule did of good and bad for India and Pakistan. "On the whole a great instrument of progress," Professor Rawlinson quotes G. K. Gokhale (p. 187), "in spite of its inevitable drawbacks as foreign." To Gandhi's Tolstoyan mind, the very things that have been our boast, "railways, telegraphs, hospitals,

[1] The River Courses of the Punjab and Sind. *Indian Antiquary*, 1932.

lawyers, doctors have all to go" (p. 199). What iconoclasm! one exclaims, but then one is reminded (p. 178) how a British Governor-General "seriously contemplated the demolition of the Taj Mahal to provide lime for a new Government House"! Even in eccentricities, East and West are nearer than is supposed.

Will the sub-continent find our democracy suited to its needs? Will our law and our economics survive, at any rate in transmutation? On the answer to such questions must depend the final verdict on our contribution to India and Pakistan. Meanwhile, here in brief is evidence for our past record and present influence.

LA GRAMMAIRE DE PĀṆINI. By Professor L. RENOU. Paris, 1948.

In this edition of Pāṇini's Grammar, Professor Renou offers a more "explicit and complete" translation than that of Böhtlingk. His idea has been to attain greater clarity by the interpolation of numerous bracketed phrases intended to fill out the meaning of the terse sūtras. The fact, however, that he does not give Pāṇini's text is unfortunate, since his edition cannot therefore be a substitute for Böhtlingk's book now difficult to obtain. Professor Renou has, on the other hand, provided copious notes, drawn mainly from the Bhāṣāvṛtti. These notes form the chief virtue of the book.

The value of any edition of a work of this nature lies almost as much in the system of indexing the information contained therein as in the presentation of the text itself. Unfortunately, one cannot tell yet whether Professor Renou's system will supplement that of Böhtlingk, as the present volume contains only the first three books of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. One further point should be noted: the volume is reproduced from typescript, a feature which is displeasing when one compares it with the careful printing in Böhtlingk's edition.

J. E. B. GRAY.

ANTHOLOGIE SANSKRITE. By Professor L. RENOU. Paris, 1947.

Professor Renou has fulfilled an important task in presenting this first volume of a Sanskrit Anthology in French translation. The chosen passages give an adequate idea of Vedic literature and range over the Epic, Purāṇa, Dharma, and the sciences. Only ten hymns from the Ṛgveda are translated, though one might wish for more since this section of the literature holds much attraction for those

who are interested in Hinduism but have no knowledge of Sanskrit. Again, a greater selection might have been quoted from the Mānava-dharmaśāstra. Nevertheless, it is the compiler's definite aim that works already available in various translations should not be given too great prominence in the anthology. There is, in fact, ample material in the 400 pages to entice the reader further afield. The book is neatly arranged and annotated. We look forward to the second volume which is to contain selections from the drama, tales, and lyric poetry.

J. E. B. GRAY.

Art

ARTIBUS ASIAE. Vol. X, 3 and 4. Ed. A. SALMONY. 12½×9½, pp. 169–251. Ascona: Switzerland, 1947.

The coloured frontispiece of the first of these sumptuous volumes represents a lacquered mask from one of two Silla graves, excavated by Korean archæologists and containing one of them a bronze vessel dated A.D. 415. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel contributes a historical study of Portrait Painting in Kāngṛa and Chambā; J. E. McCall, papers on Early Jesuit Art in the Far East; Nimet Özgüc, a note on two Hittite seals; M. Salmony, one on an Early Han Jade Bear, and Maud Gubiand an interesting article on Les caravaniers asiatiques et les riverains de l'ocean indien vus par les coroplastes de la Smyrne romaine. Of outstanding historical interest is a paper by Professor G. Coedès on discoveries at Go Oc Eo, a Fou-nan port revealed by aerial survey. Besides early pottery and neoliths, the site has yielded 7,000 beads in rock-crystal, cornelian, ônyx, amethyst and glass, some Roman or pseudo-Roman, others with fine gold lamination. More numerous were gold rings, clasps, and pendants. Seals were unearthed bearing the names of their owners or other legends in characters employed in the north of India between the second and fifth centuries A.D. There were tin amulets decorated with Brahmanical figures and others with undetermined symbols. Some fifty intaglios or cameos in cornelian, rock crystal and sardonyx were found with inscriptions like the seals or with scenes or portraits, some of Indian, some of Roman design. A large glass cabochon shows a bearded head in an Iranian cap of Sassanian type and is perhaps contemporary with a fourth century Sassanian ruler of Fou-nan. A gold medal has the portrait of one of the

Antonines and a mutilated inscription refers to Marcus Aureliu An effigy of Antoninus Pius in gold is dated A.D. 152. There w a fragment of a Han mirror. As Professor Coedès remarks, the si is a little later than that at Pondicherry and is another link in t chain of ports enumerated by Ptolemy.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Miscellaneous

THE ALPHABET. By DAVID DIRINGER, D.Litt. 9 × 6, pp. x + 6(Hutchinson and Co. 50s.

Dr. Diringer remarks that it is strange so little has been writt on the history of the alphabet. This authoritative book both suppli and explains the want. It is a compendium of fact, and a doubtful theory is indicated: what views the author advances a either safe or qualified. First he traces the history of hieroglypl picture scripts which are widely distributed, and invented surely least twice (in the New and Old Worlds), but he points out th the alphabet was such a revolutionary idea that it can have be conceived but once—though one may compare the Mayan a Indian invention of reckoning by zero, as in 10, 100, 1,000. T importance of idea-diffusion in writing is emphasized; also t deliberate character of an alphabet, so that it is improper to se the ancestry of every single sign from any preceding hieroglyp In this connection it seems not unlikely in view of other surviv that some Brahmi characters descend from the Indus script, thou no demonstration hitherto convinces. Dr. Diringer places the orig of the alphabet in Syro-Palestine, towards the middle of the seco millennium. Who can expect to be more precise? He has n emphasized the importance of business in the search for shor easier means of communication though it must have been gre just as it called forth Pitman's shorthand, while parallel syste have failed to survive; so with the alphabet. The effect of materi on the shape of letters is referred to only in passing. In the easte derivatives of Brahmi, more comparative tables might have ma the work more interesting and easy to follow, as the mere fa that X is derived from Y, when both are unknown, is a *disjecta membrum* of scientific truth. The history of the development the Roman script is carefully followed. Perhaps the resemblanc

between the Indus and Easter Island scripts are more intrinsic than Dr. Diringer allows.

RONALD M. SMITH.

REPORT OF THE SCIENTIFIC WORK DONE IN THE NETHERLANDS ON BEHALF OF THE DUTCH OVERSEAS TERRITORIES, 1918–1943. 9 × 6, pp. i–vi + 1–356. North-Holland Publishing Co., 1948.

Compiled by the late Dr. B. J. O. Schrieke, this is a record in English of Dutch achievements and publications in such fields as Anthropology, Prehistory and Archæology, Ethnology, Islamic studies, Customary Law, Philology and Literature, more especially for Netherlands India. Particulars are given of Dutch Institutions interested in those subjects. The volume should be of value both to specialists and to librarians.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

ORIENTALIA NEDERLANDICA. 9½ × 6, pp. 1–498. Leiden, 1948. Fl. 17·50.

Published to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Netherlands Oriental Society, the thirty-five papers in this volume are written, most of them, in English or French and range from Aššur-Nâdin-Šumi to Sir William Jones, from African rock-paintings to the art of India, Tibet and Japan. Names like F. D. K. Bosch, J. J. C. Duyvendak, J. H. Kramers, G. W. J. Drewes and J. Ph. Vogel, to pick a few at random, are evidence of the quality of the articles. R. A. Kern contends that the Ho-ling of Chinese voyagers stands for Kling (from Kalinga) and could indicate Indian settlements both in Java and Malaya. F. B. J. Kuiper discusses nasalization in Munda and raises the question whether every Indonesian root was originally disyllabic. F. H. van Naerssen contributes a suggestive paper on the first contact between Hindu and Indonesian culture. These three papers lie within my own reading, but there will be few orientalists who cannot find something of interest in these pages.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

OBITUARY

Sir Oliver Wardrop, K.B.E., C.M.G.

By the death on 19th October, 1948, of Sir Oliver Wardrop, the Society has lost a member who not only had a fine record of public service but had also a wide reputation for scholarship, especially in relation to the languages of Eastern Europe.

Born in 1864, he was educated at English, French and German schools and then spent some time in travelling abroad. At the suggestion of Professor (afterwards Lord) Bryce he went, rather belatedly, to Oxford (Balliol), where he took a first-class degree and won the Taylorian exhibition three years running, each time in a different language. His knowledge of Russian resulted in his appointment (1892) as private secretary to the British ambassador in Petersburg. Three years later he entered the consular service, and during the next fifteen years he held posts in Russia, Poland and Roumania, besides acting appointments in Tunis and Hayti. Then his health gave way, and he retired. A prolonged rest and a happy marriage restored him sufficiently to enable him to accept the headship of the City of London College; but almost immediately the outbreak of war in 1914 prompted him to offer his services once more to the Foreign Office. He was placed in charge of the consulate at Bergen, which had become the chief channel of trade between Britain and northern Europe. It was a difficult and exhausting post, and three years later he was transferred to a yet more onerous and even dangerous station as Consul-General at Moscow, then in the throes of revolution. Here he resolutely defended British interests until in 1919 he was relieved by a special envoy from London. After a turn of duty under the Foreign Office, Wardrop spent a couple of years as British Commissioner for Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. A final period as Consul-General at Strasbourg led up to his retirement in 1927.

The years that followed were troubled by ill-health. Nevertheless, he catalogued the Georgian MSS. in the British Museum and did much to promote the study of Georgian at Oxford, besides serving on the Council of this Society and as a member of the governing body of the School of Oriental Studies. Of his published works, mostly translations from the Georgian, special mention may be made of

The Book of Wisdom and Lies (Kelmscott Press) and *Visramiani* (Oriental Translation Fund). His interest in everything relating to Georgia dated from the period of his youthful travels in that country, of which he published an account as early as 1888.

W. FOSTER.

Ernst E. Herzfeld

Few scholars of our generation have contributed so much to increasing our knowledge of the sources for the study of ancient Western Asia in periods or directions of which little was previously known as Ernst Herzfeld. An established scholar of considerable reputation not only in his own University, Berlin, by 1910, his early work was encouraged by Eduard Meyer, the historian, and aided by the active co-operation of Friedrich Sarre, whose outstanding achievements there has yet been little chance to appreciate. Friendship and co-operation with Koldewey and the archæological architects of the mission of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Iraq, led him to admire their methods and made him a sound field-worker, without obscuring his firm understanding of the necessity for combining the study of language and history with archæology if the tasks before him were to be accomplished.

His training fitted him for the very diverse tasks he undertook. On his many journeys he continually noted new sites, and thus pointed the way for many later excavations, particularly in Persia. At some sites already well known he carried out fresh work unexpectedly rich in results, notably at Samarra and Persepolis. He continually brought to our attention neglected subjects, such as the nature of the metal-working craft in the first millennium B.C. at Wan, the significance of the designs on scratched button seals of early date from Anatolia, the importance of Sassanian gems and of coins for the study of larger monuments, the relevance of the façades of rock tombs in the hills of Kurdistan to the development of architectural types, the standing monuments in remote, often previously unvisited areas in Persia. Everywhere he found and published new inscriptions, Akkadian, Old Persian, Aramaic, and Arabic, many of which might have been permanently lost through the activities of ignorant dealers, or might have remained unnoticed by less indefatigable travellers. It is impossible, and unnecessary to enumerate his publications; they are well known and will remain source books for such studies for a long time.

The changed conditions in Germany after 1933 were a heavy blow to him, though we did not all, perhaps, understand how heavy. His father had, I think, been a medical officer in the German army, and he was much attached to old traditions. During the bad years he spent liberally in scientific publication, then finally went to Princeton to further advanced studies there; when his time came to retire, he travelled to Cairo for the purpose of completing Max van Berchem's work. During those last years he was involved, as any man who undertakes much pioneer work always is, in a number of controversies. His writing, always a little too compressed for clear reasoning in exposition, for he aimed, as he said somewhere, at that impossible goal "to express everything mathematically", became much involved in the difficulty of using a foreign language, the plague of our time. In spirit, as was obvious from his letters, he was much depressed, no doubt owing to ill health. In Cairo he fell ill, went to Switzerland for treatment, and died there.

One who benefited from many opportunities for long, and sometimes heated, conversations with him under many different conditions, may be allowed to bear witness to his culture, to the intellectual power he brought to the consideration of detail in the wide field he covered, and to his power to stimulate in new directions. Younger men felt bound to differ from his views, and he never failed to reply; even where he persisted in what appear mistaken opinions, there was something to be learnt. I have not read anything he wrote from which I have not received instruction, leaving some impression from a sensitive and trained mind. But his conversation was better than his books. To the wide circle of those who appreciated his own passion for the beautiful or admired his wide knowledge, without claiming themselves any right to judge him as philologist or archaeologist, his passing will bring great regret. He was a loyal friend of this Society.

SIDNEY SMITH.

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Subscriptions—		
Fellows	321 6 0	
Non-Resident Members	303 0 0	
Student and Miscellaneous	15 2 6	
Fellow Compounders	31 10 0	
Non-Resident Compounders	113 2 0	
		844 0 6
Grants—		
British Academy	200 0 0	
Government of Hong Kong, 1946–47	10 0 0	
Government of Malayan Union, 1946–47	86 0 0	
		296 0 0
Donation—		
Dr. B. C. Law		1,400 0 0
Rents Received		573 15 0
Journal Account—		
Subscriptions	259 16 0	
Additional Copies Sold	112 4 0	
Pamphlets Sold	2 2 9	
		374 2 9
Government Redemption of Local Loans		1,426 1 10
Interest on Investments		139 13 8
Sale of Lease of 74 Grosvenor Street	25,000 0 0	
Add Interest on balance of purchase money	37 5 10	
	25,037 5 10	
Less rent, etc., to date of completion	303 14 11	
		24,733 10 11
Sale of Two Pictures		110 0 0
Sale of Six Rees Stoves		18 0 0
Royalties		184 15 10
Sale of Catalogue		31 18 0
Commission on Sale of Forlong Fund Books, 1946		14 4 4
Sundry Receipts		18 11 7
		£30,164 14 5

General Account Investments

£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Loan 1960–90.
£2,500 2½% Defence Bonds.
£4,908 16s. 7d. 1½% Exchequer Bonds.
£4,965 12s. 9d. 2½% National War Bonds.

Note

£1,736 4s. 2d. was outstanding as a liability at the end of the year, to be transferred to a separate compounded subscription account.

PAYMENTS FOR 1947

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance at 1st January, 1947		8,410 8 0
House Account—		
Rent and Land Tax (£324 11s. 6d. Tax)	527 1 6	
Rates less those defrayed by tenants	44 12 7	
Gas and Light	73 3 2	
Coal and Coke	32 6 7	
Telephone	19 0 10	
Cleaning	19 1 1	
Insurance	79 14 6	
Repairs and Renewals (including £1,650 for re-conditioning new premises)	2,013 9 10	
		2,808 10 1
Investments—		
Purchase of 2½% Defence Bonds	2,500 0 0	
Purchase of 2½% Exchequer Bonds	5,000 0 0	
Purchase of 2½% National War Bonds	4,500 0 0	
		12,000 0 0
Leasehold Redemption Fund		30 10 6
Salaries and Wages		1,028 12 9
Printing and Stationery		28 18 2
Journal Account—		
Printing	585 7 0	
Postage	15 15 0	
		601 2 0
Library Expenditure		3 3 0
General Postage		28 15 1
Sundry Expenses—		
Teas	36 19 8	
Lectures	4 9 6	
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	23 19 8	
Fee for Audit and Income Tax Claim	15 15 0	
Other General Expenditure	136 12 9	
		217 16 7
Solicitor's Costs re Sale of Lease of 74 Grosvenor Street		164 8 6
Commission on Sale of Lease of 74 Grosvenor Street		432 10 0
Cost of Removal		727 1 0
Legal Charges including Stamp Duty on Lease		317 10 0
Surveyor's Fee for Work at Queen Anne Street		120 0 0
Furnishing		1,474 2 6
Agent's Commission for Letting Flats		75 0 0
Bank Charges		12 17 11
		28,481 6 1
Balance at 31st December, 1947—		
Cash at Bank in Current Account	1,667 9 1	
Cash in hand	15 13 8	
P.O. Savings Bank	5 7	
		1,683 8 4
		£30,164 14 5

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described and hereby certify the said Abstract to be in accordance therewith.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
V. RIENAECKER, Auditor for the Society.

15th October, 1948.

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1947

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/47	1,061 16 11	Balance represented by £1,032 12s. 10d. War Stock	1,072 7 5	
Transfer from General Account	20 10 6	Cash at Bank	36 2 10	
Dividends to be re-invested	26 2 10			1,108 10 3
	£1,108 10 3			£1,108 10 3

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1947

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts			Payments		
Balance, 1/1/47	290 17 1		Rental of Type	1 1 0	
Sales	146 19 8		Binding 100 Vols. XIV and XV, 80 Vol. XX	32 10 0	
Interest on Deposit	6 0		Sundries	2 2	
			31/12/47 Balance carried to Summary	411 8 2	
	£444 1 4			£444 1 4	

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

Balance, 1/1/47	282 2 2	Printing 500 Vol. XXIV	121 16 4	
Sales	61 3 6	31/12/47 Balance carried to Summary	221 10 4	
	£343 6 8		£343 6 8	

Summary of Special Fund Balances 31st Dec., 1947

Oriental Translation Fund	411 8 2	Cash at Bank—		
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund	221 10 4	On Current Account	572 18 6	
		On Deposit Account	60 0 0	
				632 18 6
	£632 18 6			£632 18 6

Investments. Nil.

TRUST FUNDS, 1947

Prize Publication Fund

Balance, 1/1/47	272 1 0	Binding 56 Vol. XVI	4 4 0	
Sales	45 3 6	31/12/47 Balance carried to Summary	331 0 6	
Dividends	18 0 0			
	£335 4 6		£335 4 6	

Gold Medal Fund

Balance, 1/1/47	103 3 11	Token Medal	3 3 6	
Dividends	9 15 0	31/12/47 Balance carried to Summary	109 15 5	
	£113 18 11		£113 18 11	

University Prize Essay Fund

Balance, 1/1/47	226 15 6	31/12/47 Balance carried to Summary	247 8 10	
Dividends	20 15 4			
	£247 8 10		£247 8 10	

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/47	230 7 8	31/12/47 Balance carried to Summary	234 5
Dividends	4 15 3		
	£234 5 11		£234 5

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1947

Prize Publication Fund	331 0 6	31/12/47 Cash at Bank on Current Account	922 10
Gold Medal Fund	109 15 5		
Universities Prize Essay Fund	247 8 10		
Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account	234 5 11		
	£922 10 8		£922 10

Trust Fund Investments

£800 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£445 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 2½% Conversion Stock ("B" account).
Rs. 12,000 3% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1947

Balance, 1/1/47	5 15 8	Balance—Cash at Bank on Current Account	56 3 10
Dividends	7 4		
Government Redemption of Local Loans	49 0 10		
	£56 3 10		£56 3 10

Investments. Nil.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1947

Balance, 1/1/47	1,105 12 5	School of Oriental and African Studies Scholarships	270 0 0		
Dividends and Interest	171 13 5	Lectures	44 15 0		
Sales	83 10 0	Contribution towards printing Proceedings of Sir W. Jones Bi-Centenary Conference	34 5 0	349	3 0
		R.A.S. 10% Commission Sales 1946		14	4 4
		Balance—Cash at Bank on Current Account	647 17 0		
		Cash in P.O. Savings Bank	349 21 0	997	8 6
	£1,360 15 10			£1,360 15 10	

Forlong Fund Investments

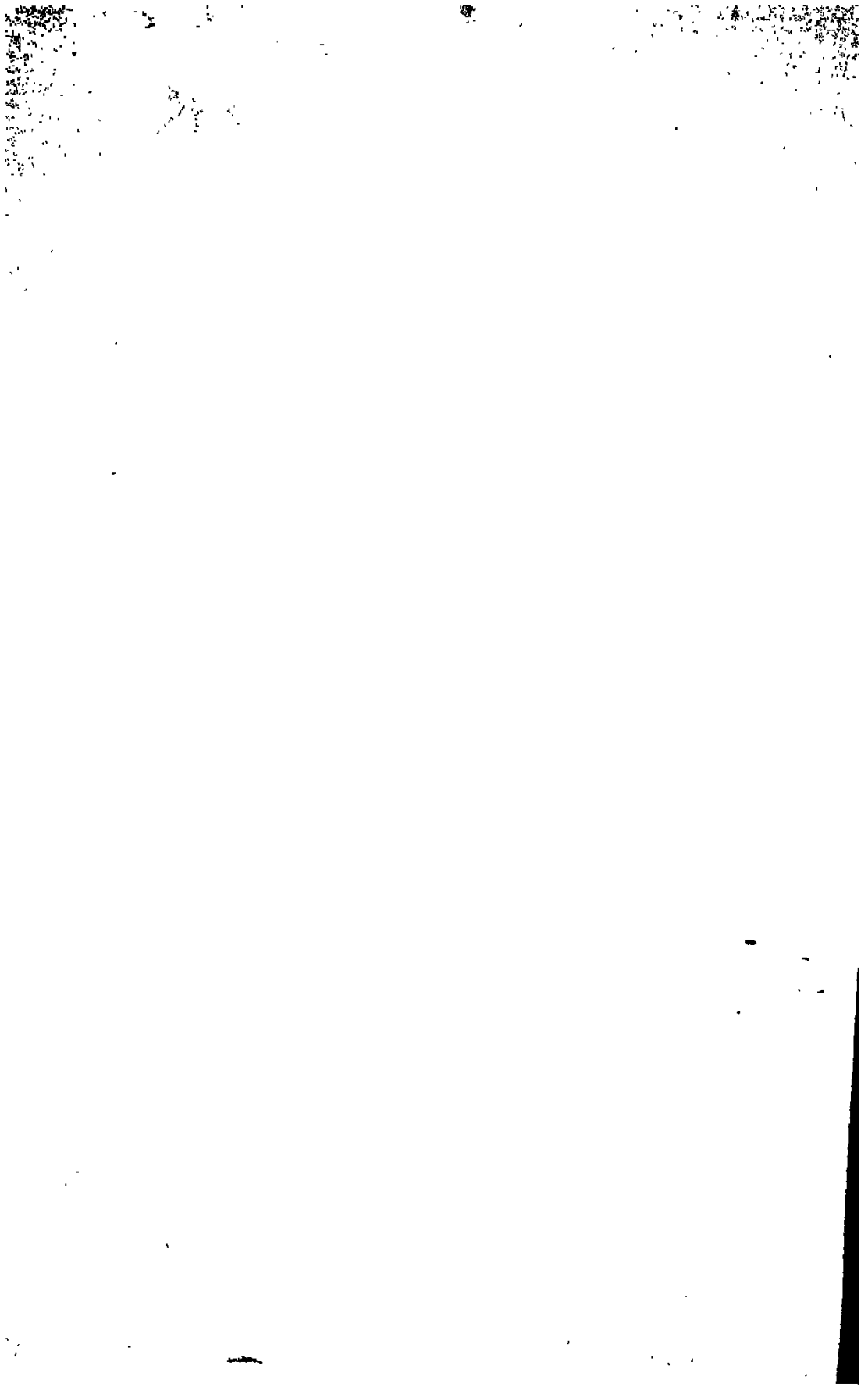
£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£1,015 16s. 2d. South Australian Government 4% Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,031 12s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960–70.
£1,217 Rs. 2d. 3% Treasury Stock.
£700 2½% Conversion Loan ("A" account).
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 12s. 4d. 2½% War Stock ("A" account).

I have examined the above statements with the books and vouchers and hereby certify the same to be in accordance therewith. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
5 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

Countersigned { E. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
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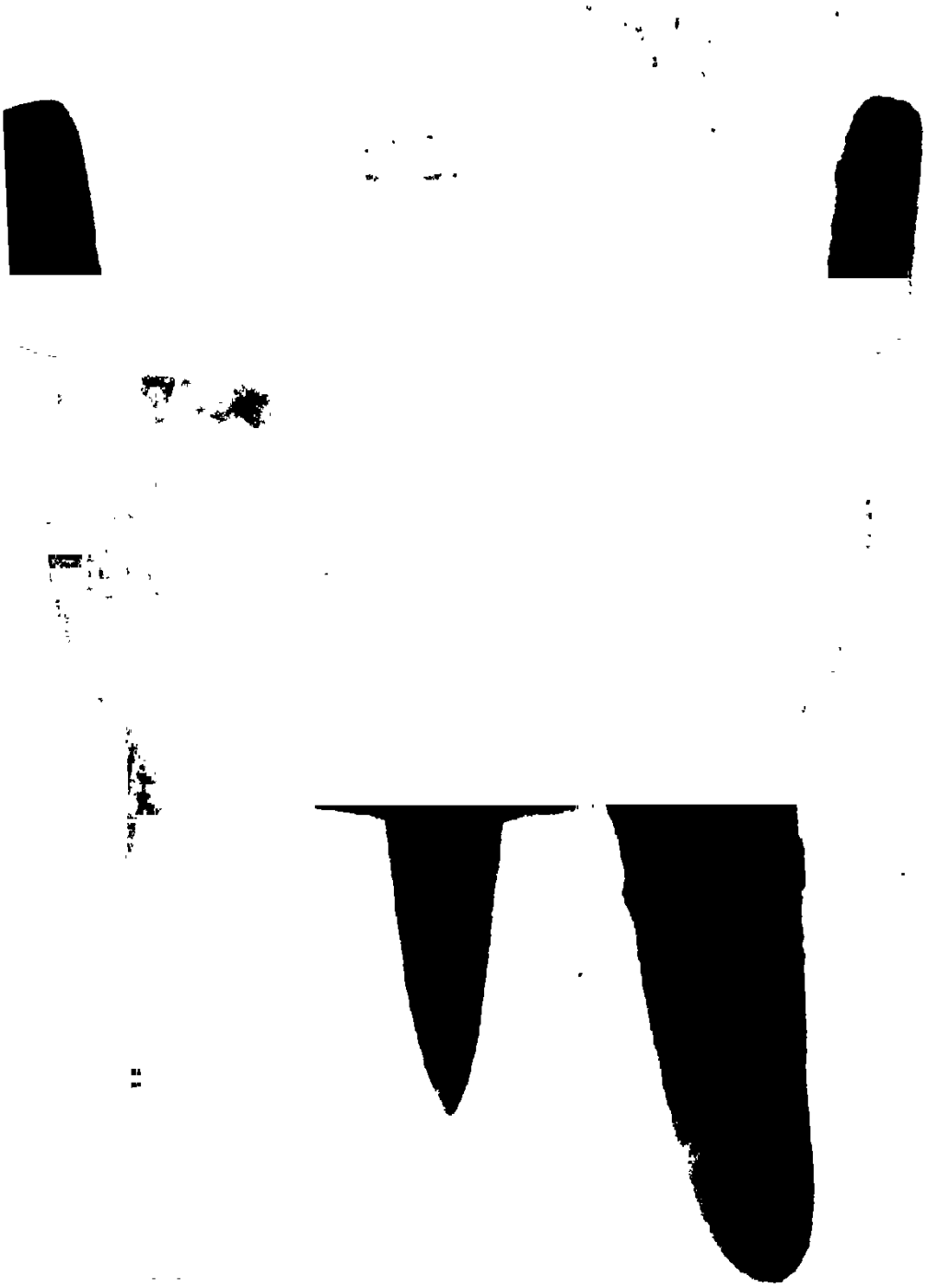
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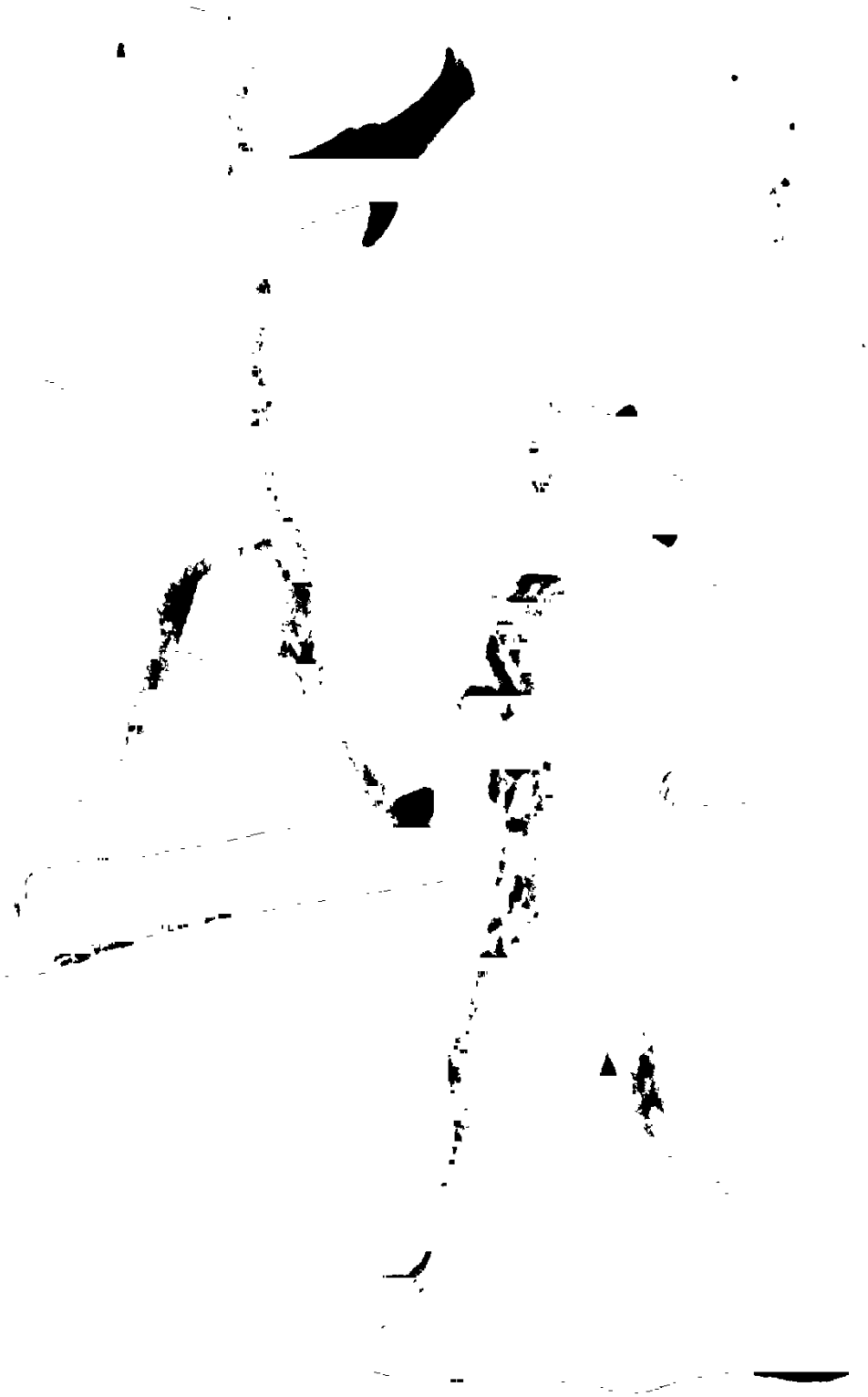
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(PLATES IX–XII)

BY gracious permission of His Royal Highness, these four plates are reproduced from the volume reviewed on pp. 209–212. The captions and the following notes are derived from this work.

IX. This is Plate 1 in the volume. The frieze encircling the middle of the vessel "consists of three horizontally broadened t'ao-t'ie masks, each composed of two elongated animals facing one another. The frieze is bordered on either side by a single row of rings. The sunken lines of the relief were filled with a substance which now shows black. In places where this filling has disappeared the bottom is yellow in colour from some shiny pale golden substance. There is no inscription".

X. This is Plate 11 in the volume, where a note added by Professor B. Karlgren runs as follows: "This bell belongs to a famous set of bells, all of which have identical long inscriptions, starting with: 'Hsi Chung made. . . .' The duct of these characters is the same as that on the Crown Prince's bell, the latter inscription however being much shorter. Neither is it to be found in the Chinese publications on inscriptions, and was therefore presumably unknown to their authors. The set having long inscriptions was, according to Jung Keng: '*Shang Chou yi ch'i*' found just outside the town wall of Nanking in the year A.D. 1815. He gives the number of bells as 7 (op. cit., p. 497), whereas Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Fu-i in: '*Chin wen chu lu piao*' only mentions 6. One of the bells is reproduced on Plate 3 in K. Hamada: '*Sen-oku-Sei sho besshu*' ('Ten bronze bells formerly in the collection of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i'), 1923. It is in the typical Middle-Chou style with scale bands (alternate long and short scales), and at the bottom back-to-back dragons. The t'ao-t'ie, though very uncommon on bronzes of the Middle-Chou style, nevertheless occurs in a few cases in a highly conventionalized form, e.g.: Jung Keng: '*Shang Chou yi ch'i*,' Fig. 168 (a Li tripod)."

The inscription with translation may be found on pp. 210, 211 of the review.

XI. This is Plate 68 in the volume. The caps differ in shape. The neck of the upper figure is protected with two rows of overlapping "plate armour", absent from the lower figure. The upper figure has "chest, back and upper part of the abdomen, as well as the upper part of the arms, protected by a 'coat of mail' with wide collar. Under this a long jacket with short sleeves. Below this jacket is just visible at the elbows a shirt ending in pointed hanging cuffs. The legs dressed in protective breeches (of leather ?) from which the shoes project. . . . The face is distinctly individual having a short beard and a short somewhat turned-up pointed nose. Hardly a Chinese type of warrior, more likely Indo-European. The warrior has presumably held a sword in his outstretched hand". The lower figure has the same type of face. "His body armour ends at the waist."

XII. This is Plate 77 in the volume. The belly is nine-lobed, and the handle is broad and three-lobed. "Round the spout, as well as round the handle, are placed three small decorative pellets. Ting or Kiang-nan ware."

Concerning Chinese Furniture

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

THIS neglected subject received a notable contribution lately from Professor Gustav Ecke in Peking. His *Chinese Domestic Furniture* is, I believe, the first attempt at an organized treatise (9).[1] Existing literature was scanty. From Chinese sources there were sundry entries in encyclopedias, and chance allusions and woodcuts to be found in unexpected places. Specialized Western publications comprised only three portfolios of plates (3, 8, and 27), and several magazine articles (10, 11, 13, and 28), not counting the somewhat fanciful descriptions by eighteenth-century writers, such as Chambers, Chippendale, and the Halfpennys (4, 6, and 15). Last year a book by George N. Kates appeared, which covers much the same ground as Ecke's pioneer work, but is designed more for the general reader (22).

Actual examples in our public and private collections are few. Most are lacquered, having been chosen more as examples of this extraneous craft than for the intrinsic merits of good furniture. Even in China to-day fine pieces are not numerous, and probably none is older than the fourteenth century. Frequent wars and social turmoil together with the insubstantial nature of Chinese architecture have not favoured preservation. For greater antiquity one must go to Japan, where at Nara some Chinese furniture in the famous Shō-sō-in or treasure-house may be as old as the first building put up about A.D. 756.

Excavated remains are neither plentiful nor perfect. Buried wood tends to decay unless protected by some preservative agency such as lacquer coating or accidental impregnation with copper salts from near-by bronzes. Yet by skilful treatment the contours of perished wood might often have been traced to prove connection with some among the host of unidentified bronze "fittings" recovered from tombs. A well-known instance of missed opportunity through lack of scientific method was the rifling of the Chin-ts'un tombs in Ho-nan, which date from about the fourth century, B.C. Fortunately the loss was mitigated by Bishop W. C. White's devoted work of reconstruction on hearsay evidence. He satisfied himself

[1] Here and afterwards numerals in bold type refer to items in the Bibliography at the end.

that six grotesque bronze figures, each five inches tall and inlaid with gold and silver, had served as supports for tables (30, 31; pls. 53, 54). The careful technique of excavation practised by Japanese archæologists in Corea has brought to light much useful information from cemeteries of Han colonists. Tomb finds include clay models of furniture in miniature among the *ming ch'i* 明器 or things made to solace the dead. But, taking a general view, the oldest tombs are unlikely to yield surprises in the way of furniture. Some damaged Sung chairs, recovered from a town buried in flood silt, may be seen in the Peking Museum.

Evidence from all sources indicates that anciently Chinese furniture was both scanty and simple. When neither erect nor lying down, a person indoors normally knelt sitting on his heels, a posture portrayed frequently in archaic script (*v. inf.*, p. 134). He might use a mat for comfort; chill and dampness from ground or floor might be further lessened by a low platform or dais under the mat. This platform was the primary unit of furniture. Other units, such as the screen, the rack or upright stand, and the storage coffer (elaborated into the cupboard) were of secondary importance. The platform served otherwise than for kneeling, its dimensions being adjusted to the purpose: as a bed (often surrounded with screens), as a table for food, etc., and as a stool for leaning on to ease the kneeling posture. In short, this posture set the level, so that anciently the Chinese lived low in their dwellings. The factor that ultimately raised the level was the introduction of the chair from abroad, perhaps about the second century. For a long time after that, however, the chair was kept for ceremonial, a means of honouring the great and aged, while for everyday life the level remained close to the floor as it does to-day in Japan where manners of the T'ang period still prevail.

Professor Ecke, starting with the platform as the basic unit, traces throughout the last three thousand years an evolutionary progress which he illustrates with a telling series of drawings reproduced here on p. 127. The first (*d*) depicts the larger of two bronze rectangular stands which belong to the famous find near Pao-chi 寶雞 in 1901. As an "altar table" for sacrificial wine vessels it has been identified with the *chia* 斝 named in the ritual classics. Professor Ecke is probably justified in his assumption that it imitates contemporary wood construction, and so offers a clue to the furniture platform in Shang-Yin times. At all events, no



a



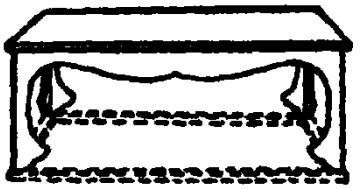
b



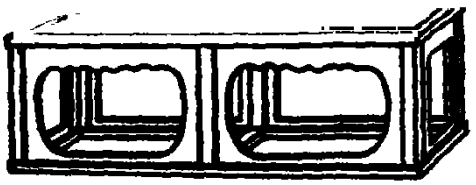
c



d



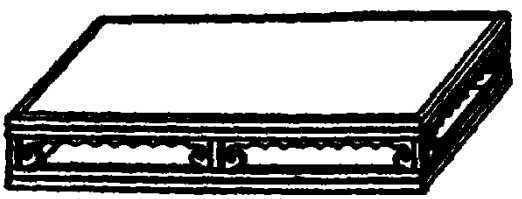
g



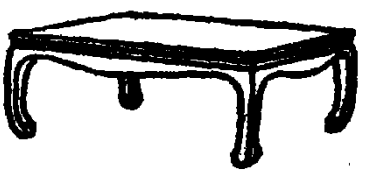
e



h



f



i

wooden example has survived from that remote age to inform us, but the fact that some perishable objects were then copied in bronze is proved by the presence in the Sumitomo Collection of a model which imitates the carved wooden barrel and alligator-skin heads of an ordinary drum. A leap of a millennium and a half brings us to the next drawing, a platform of T'ang design (*e*). Then comes a type which the author assigns to about the end of the ninth century (*f*). It is followed by a style (*g*) favoured in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when the outer supporting frame-slats were becoming solidified into sturdy independent legs. The gradual development of in-turned feet, technically called "horse-hoofs" (*ma t'i* 馬蹄), and of other distinctive features manifest in the Ming type (*h*) and the later type (*i*) may be recognized in these drawings more readily than through wordy descriptions.

Furniture is often depicted among the Shan-tung bas-reliefs dating from the first and second centuries, though neither Ecke nor Kates cites them. Scenes of those times are incised on stone slabs forming the walls of shrines for sacrificial offerings (*tz'ŭ t'ang* 祠堂) before tombs, the best known being those of the Wu family and of Chu Wei 朱鮪 in the south-west of the province and of an unidentified person on Mount Hsiao-t'ang 孝堂山 some twenty miles south-west of the capital city. Inked-squeezes from the Wu and Mount Hsiao-t'ang shrines are published by Chavannes (5). When he visited the Chu Wei shrine in 1907 it was half-buried in the ground. He could take photographs only of outside views and a few inked-squeezes from the designs inside. The inked-squeezes being but poor, he made tracings from them for his book (5, i, pt. 1, 5–7; pls. 410, 490, 491). The shrine must have been still half-buried when the inked-squeezes were taken from which Fischer had negative photographs made, excellent in detail but necessarily scrappy (14, pls. 32–53). Some years later the shrine was dug out, dismantled, and re-erected in the neighbouring town of Chin-hsiang 金鄉, when it became possible for inked-squeezes to be taken of the whole interior of the remaining structure. In 1934 Wilma Fairbank visited the restoration, but circumstances limited her to a few sketches. With these and a complete set of inked-squeezes she has reconstructed the whole general arrangement of the designs (12, figs. 7, 10–12).

In the Wu and Mount Hsiao-t'ang shrines are found not less than twenty-five examples of the low platform or dais, on each of

which a figure sits upon his heels while kneeling, and generally he is receiving homage from figures prostrating themselves or standing bowed before him. The dais, raised only a few inches from the ground or floor, seems invariably to have at its four corners supports between which stretch serrated boards. In ten instances there is a screen behind the dais, and in seven a canopy of looped curtains (5, pls. 26, 44–6, 49, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 64, 65, 75). In eight instances the dignitary leans an arm (generally his left) upon a narrow stool, like a miniature bench (5, pls. 24–8, 65; the example in (*c*) on p. 127 is drawn, less than half size, from an earlier inked-squeeze than that reproduced in Chavannes' pl. 65). This is the *chi* 几, of which more will be said later. One of the Wu bas-reliefs depicts a woman being murdered in bed. She was a paragon of filial and wifely devotion and of self-sacrifice. The tale is that an enemy of her husband threatened to kill her father unless she afforded him the opportunity of killing her husband. She faced the dilemma by lying herself the following night upon the bed which she had indicated to the enemy as her husband's. The bed, viewed from the side, is raised about twelve inches above the floor of the house on four legs, two fixed at the corners of the head end and two on the frame about eighteen inches from the foot. There is no trace here of a superstructure, comparable to our four-posts and tester, such as later made an independent compartment of the Chinese bed. At least one of the platforms depicted in the Wu shrine and all those in the Chu Wei shrine serve for several kneeling banqueters, the food and drinks being spread over long low tables on the floor in front of them. In the Chu Wei shrine, screens and canopies of looped curtains are much in evidence.

Professor Ecke makes some illuminating remarks about the manner of fitting legs to stools and tables; his explanation can be followed easily with the aid of his admirable photographs and drawings of constructural detail. The type of curved, sometimes double curved, support pictured in the Han bas-reliefs and later presentments arouses one's curiosity as to the method of attachment without the use of nails (*v.* p. 127, *b* and *c*). A well-known example is that of the bench in the bed scene of *The Admonitions*, the painting in the British Museum attributed to the fourth-century artist Ku K'ai-chih 顧愷之, or rather to a later copyist of his traditional design. Some of the curved supports look as if they had been made of metal.

Any light on the evolution of the steel or low table called *chi* 几 is specially welcome, because among derivatives of the primitive platform it seems to have been the earliest to warrant the term "furniture" as we understand it. I do not know which particular characters Professor Ecke had in mind when he wrote of its ancestry being "indicated in the Shang pictograph of the modern character *chi* 几. It suggests", he continues, "the arm-support for a reclining person; and, at the same time, a low table placed on the ground or on the couch." Meagre results have attended my own search for Shang-Yin examples of 几 occurring either independently or as an element in other characters: for instance, in 処, generally written with "tiger" added in the form 處. Four examples of 處, listed by Jung Kêng from bronzes, certainly are not so old as the Shang-Yin (19, xiv, 6). There is the rather similar pictogram 丌 entered as Radical 145 in the *Shuo wên* for the word *ch'i*, defined as a foundation or that on which things rest and as a stand for offering things. Archaic examples of this are known both alone and in combination. Instances of the latter are 其, 典 and 冀, but it is a question whether any containing the 丌 element can be traced as far back as the Shang-Yin.

A theory that claims notice is the identification of 爿 and its complement 片 as drawings of the stool named *chi* 几. As a leading entry, only the second of these is included in the *Shuo wên* where it is Radical 249. Here Hsü Shên seems vague: he may be defining the word as "a split tree" or merely repeating the explanation of structure as "half [the character] 木". At all events, "splitting" and "wood" are meant in his entry 判木也从半木. These two forms appear combined as elements composing the lower half of the next *Shuo wên* radical. It is *ting* 鼎, a word which Hsü Shên defines as denoting "a valued vessel, with three legs and two ears, for blending the Five Savours". Not that the character depicts a vessel with three legs, it depicts something which may or may not be a legless cauldron having below it the two forms in question. Several examples are known, however, of a form which certainly does depict a tripod vessel. An explanation of the whole *Shuo wên* entry would involve too long a digression, but clearly Hsü Shên takes the lower part of 鼎 to represent split fire-wood.

Both 爿 and 片 occur frequently among the Oracular Sentences, either independently or combined with other elements, many of these combinations being still unequated with current characters.

One combination that has been identified is now generally written 鼎 for the word *sheng*, "to cook." The most complete form of the character has above the 鼎 two other elements beside the 月, *viz.* "meat" 月 and "spoon" 匕. These two are pictograms: the first being a slice of meat, the second a spoon imagined in longitudinal section. But sometimes only one or two of these three upper elements are present. Here are six examples of the incomplete or shortened character from the Oracular Sentences (v. 39, vii, 11).



The character 鼎 in its archaic form probably may be classed both as a pictogram (*hsiang hsing* 象形) and as a logical compound (*hui i* 會意). Regarded as part of a logical compound, 月 here provides a basis for the argument that it depicts a stool or small table. Fortunately we can turn to the inscription on the *Yüan Ting* 員鼎. At the end of it one finds an example of the complete character followed by a combination which also has been cited in support of the stool argument. An inked-squeeze from the inscription, a decipherment, and a commentary may be found in 25, 又 14, and 24, 29. Kuo Mo-jo assigns it to the reign of the second Chou king, mainly it seems, because of allusions to certain campaigns. These allusions appear on two other bronzes evidently made by the same man. History being so vague as it is, such evidence is inconclusive; the campaigns might have happened under the Shang-Yin. There is, moreover, the presence of the combination (to be discussed presently) which Karlgren takes as a criterion of Shang-Yin date. Kuo, recognizing its antiquity, says it points to the beginning of the Chou. A sure index here is the style of the script, characteristic of the First Phase towards its end. A tentative translation runs thus: "On the *kuei yu* day in the third quarter of the first month the King was hunting in Shih-nan (?). The King bestowed on [Yüan] fierce dogs and sacrificial meat. Wherefore [Yüan] made for Fu Chia this sacral cooking vessel. . . ." I leave the end blank, because the meaning is not known. Sung epigraphists took the combination to be *hsi tzŭ sun* 析子孫 and their reading has



been accepted by most until recently. Wang Kuo-wei, who died in 1927, thought of the ingenious stool or table theory. He is the protagonist of the theory also as regards the aforesaid character for *shang*, which let us consider first.

In inscriptions on bronzes the word *shang* occurs variously as noun, adjective, and verb. Sometimes it is an alternative to the term *ting*, sometimes it qualifies that term, and sometimes it means "to offer" as if it were *fêng* 奉. The structure of the character signifies such usage, if it depicts all that is necessary for preparing meat sacrifices in a *ting*. Below is the vessel itself, above it are a slice of meat, the supposed table and a spoon to separate the meat and distribute it after the cooking. If the *ting* be regarded as facing one, the table is on its right side, the spoon on its left (v. 33, 1, 2). The theory gains plausibility from the presence of a small table among the bronzes, probably dating from the third century B.C., unearthed at Shou 壽 Hsien in 1933. Its top is some fifteen inches long and eight wide, and its four legs are about seven inches tall. Set up on end and seen from the side it resembles the element believed to depict a table in the character for *shang*. The top has four cruciform perforations like those present in the horizontal plate between steamer and boiler of the class called *yen* 甗. The perforations and the fact that the dimensions of the table are such as to allow it to stand inside one of the *ting* from the same find, suggest that the meat was cooked upon the table by steaming. But a cooking function is not part of Wang Kuo-wei's theory. He identifies the supposed table, depicted 丬, with the *tsu* 俎 which is often mentioned in ritual texts, apparently as a stand for meat offerings (*e.g.* 7, i, 690, 739, 740).

As to the three forms which Sung epigraphists read *hsi tzŭ sun*, Wang Kuo-wei takes them to be elements of a character for some word signifying ritual sacrifice to royal ancestors (34, iii, 15–17). He sees at the top two stools for leaning on (*chi* 几) and below a child in the arms of an adult. The child he identifies with the customary personator (literally "corpse" 尸) of the ancestor to whom the sacrifice is offered, the personator being thus depicted because often a child had to be chosen as the only available member of the family belonging to the appropriate generation. A son could not personate his late father, it had to be a grandson or a nephew (7, ii, 335, 336). The supposed pair of *chi* calls for a longer explanation than can be attempted here. A basic text is one in the *Chou li*

defining duties of the Supervisor of Stools and Mats 司几筵 as regards the five kinds of stools: (1) Left and right gem-adorned; (2) Carved; (3) Red; (4) Lacquered; (5) Plain 左右玉; 雕; 彤; 漆; 素 (v. 1, xx, 8–13; 2, i, 476–480; 21, xxviii, 107–121). A king was entitled to two gem-adorned stools, the one on his left being for his own use, the one on his right for the spirit of his ancestor. The personator of a royal ancestor was likewise privileged. A feudal prince was entitled to a carved stool on his right side, etc. Another ritual classic, the *I li*, has much on this subject (22, i, 18, 20, 242; ii, 3, 163, 181, 182), and *The Testamentary Charge* in the *Shu ching* throws light on it too (26, iii, 544–561). Besides the combination with the supposed pair of *chi*, there are variants with or without a single element at the top. Wang Kuo-wei believes these variants depict ancestral sacrifices to a feudal ruler and to a lesser noble respectively. Kuo Mo-jo deems the whole theory too far-fetched, and I am inclined to agree with him. Sun I-jang is convinced that what Wang Kuo-wei thinks is a pair of stools is really a summary drawing of four axes (32, i, 3). Kuo's guess that the mysterious combination may stand for a clan name seems reasonable (24, 29). The picture of an adult holding up a child occurs among the Oracular Sentences (v. 30, supp., 32). Opinions differ, some interpret it to be the name of a clan or of a state, others that it means captives taken in war. Here are examples:



While pictographic proof of the stool or small table in Shang-Yin times is questionable, from the next period there is plenty of literary evidence, though material remains are inevitably scanty because of the perishable nature of wood. Furniture was, of course, generally made of wood, and probably pieces in bronze were but rare freaks. The one from Shou Hsien, mentioned above, may have been specially designed for use with an extra-large *ting*. If my surmise be correct that its purpose was for cooking, it could hardly be a bronze replica of an ordinary *tsu* 俎, as some writers suppose (*e.g.* 21, i, 372). There is recorded only one other bronze piece which might be classified either as a *tsu* 俎 or as a *chi* 几. It belongs to the Sumitomo Collection, in the catalogue of which it is called

a *chi* (18, No. 192); Jung Kêng names it *tsu* (20, No. 7; 21, i, 371). Judged by the style of the surface designs, it was made towards the end of the First Phase. It is slightly longer than the Shou Hsien piece from which it differs chiefly in having at either end, instead of two splayed legs, a solid support the width of the top. Ecke gives outline drawings of both these pieces and points to them as representing two distinct types which have persisted until now in various forms.

We have glanced at evidence of this primary unit of furniture during the twelve centuries or so that ended with the Han. Apart from its ritual function it provided, together with the dais and the mat, the sole provision for an austere comfort. Placed under the left arm, it gave a kneeling and sitting person something to lean on, thereby easing a posture that to those used to it is not so irksome as it might seem to us. The chair influences our habits to an extent hard to realise until we study a civilization without it. The word *tso* 坐, "to sit" in ancient China meant to sit on the heels while kneeling, the feet generally being extended with their backs on the ground or floor. When sitting on the heels in squatting (a posture called *tun* or *ts'un* 蹲) the foot is flexed, its sole (or rather the anterior part of it) being on the ground, and the knees are raised. When kneeling, *kuei* 跪, with the whole weight on the knees, the body is either erect or bowed. The balance of the latter attitude, pre-eminently one of respect and humility, is naturally helped by the arms as props with hands on thighs. In chairless China the ordinary alternative to standing and lying was to sit on the heels while kneeling or squatting. Such postures as sitting on the ground with outstretched legs (called *chi chü* 箕 踞) were not so usual. In contradistinction to the side view of a standing figure, the scribes seem to have devised a single pictogram to do duty for sitting, squatting and kneeling, and therefore vaguely inaccurate for any one of these postures, as may be gathered from an average specimen of it in *a* on p. 127. L. C. Hopkins studies this subject when arguing that *chi* 尼 was originally a kneeling human figure in profile (17, 421–7).

From the short bench-like stool or rest for one arm the next step was a *chi* lengthened to support both arms. Among the published bas-reliefs from Shan-tung I have noticed only a single example, and it may be post-Han (p. 127 *b*). Chavannes appears to be mistaken in describing "un personnage assis, semble-t-il, dans un

footstool" (5, 271, pl. 526). Actually a kneeling person has in front of him a long *chi* which is partly hidden by his copious sleeves.

The next development was a semi-circular *chi* to fit the front of the body, and it had legs at three points: centre and each end. In stone stelae from the sixth to the eighth century this kind often appears with the sculptured figure of the being called the Heaven-honoured One (T'ien Tsun 天尊), a Taoist parallel to the term World-honoured One (Shih Tsun 世尊) commonly applied to the Buddha. Among Buddhist stelae and rock carvings of about the same period one often finds representations of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra* in which the lay devotee Vimalakīrti leans on a semi-circular *chi*. Generally the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, with whom he is engaged in dispute, sits cross-legged. But there is at least one representation (dated A.D. 551) of the Bodhisattva kneeling and leaning on the *chi* like the other (*v.* 23, p. 5). The well-known Ming scholar, T'u Lung, who lived in the latter part of the sixteenth century, writes thus about "the stool to lean on (*yin chi* 隱几)": "From some oddly shaped tree is taken a limb which is naturally so curved that it fits half way round a man's waist, and has growing from it at right angles three bow-like branches that may serve as legs. Left in its raw state, it acquires a glossy polish through handling. If put beside your rush mat, you can rest your arms on it, if on your couch you can go to sleep on it. This is the thing alluded to in the text that says: 'He leant upon his stool and slept'" (33, 1). It was Mencius who thus dismissed an unwelcome visitor (26, ii, 228).

Professor Ecke devotes much space to material, and fittingly since the Chinese value the grain, colour, and other qualities of the wood as much as design and craftsmanship. He comes to the conclusion that botanical identity and provenance can rarely be determined. Chinese terms often are indefinite and used variously; at present we have to be content with such vague equivalents as "rosewood", "sandalwood", and "redwood". There seems little doubt, however, that most of the hardwoods highly prized for furniture have been imported from south-eastern Asia.

An indispensable introduction to the craft at its best is this pioneer work by Professor Ecke. He writes as an enthusiast and a discerning critic; his excellent illustrations should satisfy alike technicians, art historians, and those who admire the pieces just for their simple dignity and austere beauty. He sums up certain

distinctive characteristics: "No wooden pins, unless absolutely necessary; no glue, where it may be avoided; no turning whereso-ever—these are three fundamental rules of the Chinese cabinet-maker."

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The Disposition of Ritual Jades in Royal Burials of the Chou Dynasty

By S. HOWARD HANSFORD

In a recent lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society I drew attention to a curious misunderstanding by Édouard Biot of a passage in the *Chou li*, as revealed in his French translation of that work.[1] The mistake was repeated by Berthold Laufer,[2] and by later writers; and since it has perplexed many antiquaries and collectors, it should, I think, be noted and corrected.

It will be recalled that the *Chou li* says that it was the duty of the Ta Tsung Po 大宗伯, the Master of the Sacrificial Ceremonies, to provide the Six Jades,[3] cult objects used for the worship of Heaven, Earth, and the Four Quarters. A dark green *pi* 璧 was used for the worship of Heaven, a yellow *ts'ung* 琮 for that of Earth, a green[4] *kuei* 圭 for the East, a red *chang* 璋 for the South, a white *hu* 琥 for the West, and a black *huang* 璜 for the North.[5] The second-century A.D. commentator, Chêng Hsüan 鄭玄, remarks that these objects portrayed by their shapes the deities worshipped. The *pi*, he explains, was round, in the likeness of Heaven; the *ts'ung* had "eight facets", to represent Earth; the *kuei* was long and pointed, and symbolized spring and the first awakening of life. A half-*kuei* was called a *chang*, symbolizing summer, when life was half-spent: the *hu* [composed of the elements "jade" and "tiger"] is fierce, and symbolized the severity of autumn; a half-*pi* was called a *huang*, symbolizing the storing-up in winter, when there is no sound of living creatures on earth, and heaven is seen only for half the day (*t'ien pan chien* 天半見).[6]

This account of the shapes of ritual jades and the explanations of their significance are far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, from

[1] Biot, *Le Tcheou-li ou Rites des Tcheou*, i, 490.

[2] Laufer, *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*, p. 120.

[3] The term *yü ch'i* 玉器, should be understood as comprising jade and jade-like stones, and not confined to nephrite, or "true jade".

[4] *Ch'ing* 青, a word which has been more precisely rendered "glaucous".

[5] *Chou li Chêng chu* 周禮鄭注. *Sŭ pu pei yao* 四部備要 Edition, xviii, 3.

Biot, *op. cit.*, i, 494 f.

[6] I suggest this interpretation in preference to other and far-fetched explanations which have been offered (cf. Laufer, *Jade*, p. 169).

them and from other early allusions certain ancient jades have been identified, beyond reasonable doubt, with the *pi* and *ts'ung* of the *Chou li*, and others, tentatively, with the symbols of the Four Quarters.

The *pi* is the flat disc with a circular orifice concentric with the outer circumference. The *ts'ung*, as was pointed out by Wu Ta-ch'êng 吳大澂,[1] must be the cylinder, from the outer wall of which project the four rectangular and equidistant prisms, a form as well known to Chinese antiquaries as the *pi*. Though the impression given is that of a cylinder enclosed within a rectangular body, each prism actually presents two principal facets, so that the *ts'ung* may properly be said to have eight.

The *pi* is a most ancient and, to the Chinese, a most venerable form, and has persisted throughout their history as an ornamental device and as a base for decorative design, especially in jade. Indeed, it has fulfilled a function analogous to that of the cross-form in Western art and design. It depicts, in my view, not the solar disc, but rather the sun shining in the vault of heaven, and represented by the circular orifice, through which the light is seen. It was thus, doubtless, the form by which the primitive Chinese imaged the Supreme Power on high, the source of Man's life and the arbiter of his destiny.

Compared with the simple device of the *pi*, the *ts'ung* is an object of strange and complex form, the manufacture of which in a hard stone called for technical achievement much in advance of that required for the fashioning of a *pi*. It is probable that it was evolved to fulfil a more practical purpose, associated perhaps with religious ceremonial, but not at first purely as a religious symbol. Various writers, including Gieseler,[2] Karlgren,[3] Erkes,[4] and Henri Michel,[5] have offered widely different suggestions as to what this purpose was. But a specific cult of a deity Earth, complementary with that of Heaven, appears to have grown up only towards the

[1] Wu Ta-ch'êng, *Ku yü t'u k'ao* 古玉圖攷, 56 ff.

[2] *La Tablette Tsong du Tcheou-li*. Reprinted from *Revue Archéologique*, 1915, ii, pp. 25 ff.

[3] *Some Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China*. In *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, No. 2 (1930), pp. 23 ff.

[4] *Some Remarks on Karlgren's "Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China."* Ibid., No. 3 (1931), pp. 65 ff.

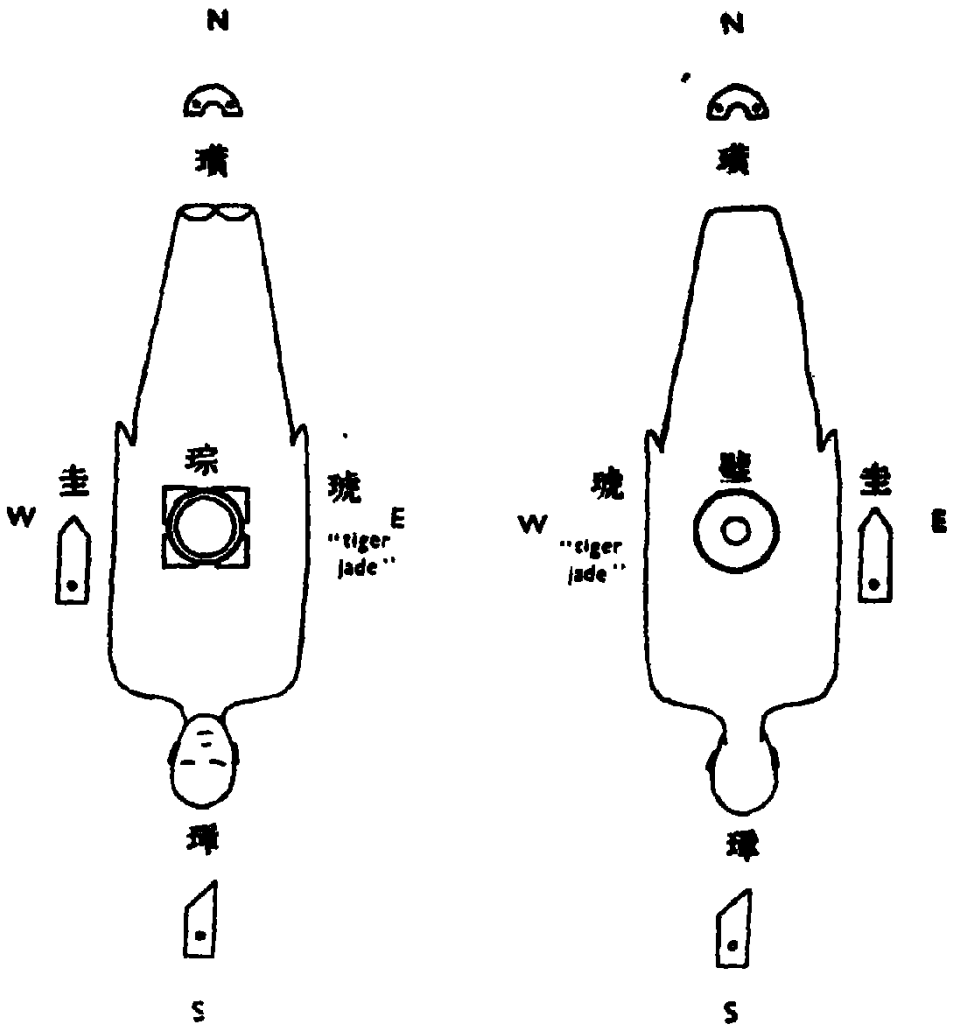
[5] *Les Jades Astronomiques Chinois*. In *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels, Nos. 1–3 (Jan.–June, 1947), pp. 31–6.

end of the Chou Dynasty, and it was, perhaps, not until then that a yellow *ts'ung* was adopted as the symbol of this deity. Outlines of the *pi* and *ts'ung* may be seen on the bodies in the sketch on p. 141.

Identification of the symbols of the Four Quarters presents more difficulty, but flat plaques of the shapes shown with the characters 圭, 璋 and 琥 in the sketch are to be seen in collections. These have been thought to accord with Chêng Hsüan's descriptions, and have been provisionally identified with the symbols of the East, South, and North. The outlines in the sketch should, however, be regarded as diagrammatic only. Even with this reservation I have refrained from attempting to represent a 璜, the symbol of the West. Plaques exist, which show a realistic representation of a tiger or a tiger-mask in outline, with surface decoration engraved or in relief. Some of these may be datable, on grounds of design and technique, to the Chou Dynasty, but I have always doubted whether they are really examples of the *hu* referred to in this passage of the *Chou li*. If the other five cosmic symbols were, as seems probable, simple geometrical forms, it is incongruous that the West should be represented by a realistic carving of an animal. The late nineteenth-century commentator, Sun I-jang 孫詒讓, points out that K'ung Kuang-sên 孔廣森 (1751–1786) expressed a similar doubt, and suggested that if a *chang* was half a *kuei*, and a *huang* half a *pi*, a *hu* might, perhaps, have been half a *ts'ung*![1] It is true that the second century A.D. dictionary *Shuo wên chieh tzŭ* 說文解字 defines the *hu* as *fa ping jui yü wei hu wên* 發兵瑞玉爲虎文. This was read by Laufer and others in the sense of "an auspicious jade, being the design of a tiger, used to mobilize an army",[2] but I suggest that a more probable meaning is "a ritual, or magical, jade that arouses martial courage by reason of its tiger design", the tiger being emblematic of bravery. To men of the Later Han Dynasty, including Chêng Hsüan, a *hu* doubtless meant a jade of tiger design, but we should not hastily conclude that the *hu* of the *Chou li* was the same thing.

It is, however, with the alleged use and disposition of these ritual jades in royal burials that we are at present concerned. Among the duties of an officer called the Tien Jui 典瑞, "Custodian of the

[1] Sun I-jang, *Chou li chêng i* 周禮正義, *Sŭ pu pei yao* Edition, xxxv, 9.
[2] Laufer, *Jade*, p. 174.



圭在左璋在首琥在右璜在足璧在背琮在腹

"*Kuei* to the left, *chang* to the head, *hu* to the right, *huang* to the feet, *pi* to the back, *ts'ung* to the abdomen."

DISPOSITION OF RITUAL JADES ACCORDING TO É. BIOT (*left*) AND CHÊNG HSÜAN, SECOND CENTURY A.D. (*right*)

Ritual Jades," the *Chou li* appears to indicate, in a well known but cryptic passage, that he passes cords through the *kuei*, *chang*, *pi*, *ts'ung*, *hu* and *huang*, separating the *pi* from the *ts'ung*, in preparation for the encoffining. It seems clear, at least, that the writer meant that the jade symbols of Heaven, Earth, and the Four Quarters were attached to the body as amulets to protect the dead man and keep him in harmonious relationship with the cosmic forces, each amulet being placed on that side of the body from which the force symbolized was supposed to operate. Chêng Hsüan, in his commentary, specifies their positions in the words below my sketch.[1] Biot translated them, "*Kuei* to the left, half-*kuei* to the head, tiger-tablet to the right, half-*pi* to the feet, *pi* under the back, *ts'ung* on the abdomen." According to this, the plan of the burial would be as shown on the left, four of the six jades being misplaced in relation to the body. Chêng, however, did not indicate that either the *pi* or the *ts'ung* was above or below it, but used the same preposition *tsai* 在 in all six cases. The only possible arrangement by which all the jades could be brought into the correct relationship is that shown on the right, a burial in the prone position, which is evidently what Chêng Hsüan had in mind.

After reaching this conclusion I noticed that Sun I-jang had also commented on the apparent anomaly, and observed that only if the body were placed back uppermost would it lie above the *ts'ung* and below the *pi*.[2]

Chêng was, of course, writing some four centuries after the end of the Chou Dynasty. Yet he takes it for granted that his readers will understand that he refers to a burial in the prone position, and that no explanation of a practice, so unfamiliar to us, is necessary. The question arises as to how widespread in time and space this ancient Chinese custom was. The only scientifically conducted excavations on a large scale, which have hitherto been undertaken in China, are those at the Shang-Yin Dynasty sites at An-yang. There many burials in the prone position were discovered. It is to be hoped that in the not too distant future the exploration of Chou and Han period sites will furnish an answer to this interesting question, and confirm or correct the statements in the *Chou li* and its commentaries as to the character and the funerary use of ritual jades in the Chou Dynasty.

[1] *Chou li Chêng chu*, xx, 8.
[2] *Chou li chêng i*, xxxix, 12.

A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions[1]

By JOSEPH SCHACHT

I SHOULD like to present some ideas on what, I think, is a necessary revaluation of Islamic traditions in the light of our present knowledge; but am at a loss whether to call my conclusions something new and unprecedented, or something old and well-known. No one could have been more surprised than I was by the results which the evidence of the texts has forced upon me during the last ten years or so; but looking back I cannot see what other result could possibly be consistent with the very foundations of our historical and critical study of the first two or three centuries of Islam. One of these foundations, I may take it for granted, is Goldziher's discovery that the traditions from the Prophet and from his Companions do not contain more or less authentic information on the earliest period of Islam to which they claim to belong, but reflect opinions held during the first two and a half centuries after the hijra.

This fundamental discovery, as I scarcely need emphasize, put our study of early Islam for the first time on a sound basis, and I know of no serious contribution to the history of early Islam in any of its aspects, which does not take this character of Islamic traditions into account. But whilst general homage has continued to be paid to the work of Goldziher,[2] his results have gradually been whittled down and their implications neglected in the sixty years since they were first published. Historical intuition, as it was sometimes called, began to take the place of sound historical criticism.[3] This lowering of standards need not surprise us. It is only natural for an historian to wish to arrive at positive conclusions, and I agree whole-heartedly that it is not satisfactory to

[1] This paper was read to Section VIII (A) of the 21st International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, July, 1948. I have added notes and a few paragraphs.

[2] H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism* (Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 106, calls Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* "the standard critical study of the Hadîth".

[3] C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, pp. 522 and 526, uses the expressions "der historische Instinkt" and "das historische Gefühl" in an otherwise fair and balanced review of Lammens, *Fâtima*. But the reaction to Lammens's one-sided thesis ought not to have led to a reversion from historical criticism, a thing which Becker himself had feared would happen.

regard the collections of Islamic traditions as a mass of contradictory views formulated at uncertain times by unknown persons.[1] This, however, is a caricature rather than a definition of what follows from Goldziher's discovery, and I propose to show a workable and, I think, a successful alternative to the counsel of despair which, finding no guiding thread through the mass of traditions, tries by arbitrary guesswork to build a seemingly historical picture of certain aspects of early Islam.

I elaborated my method while studying the origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence.[2] Law is a particularly good subject on which to develop and test a method which claims to provide objective criteria for a critical approach to Islamic traditions, and that for two reasons. Firstly, our literary sources carry us back in law farther than, say, in history, and for the crucial second century they are much more abundant on law than on any other subject. Secondly, our judgment on the formal and abstract problems of law and legal science is less likely to be distorted by preconceived ideas (those expressed in our sources as well as our own), than if we had to judge directly on issues of political and religious history of Islam.

For instance, the analysis of technical legal problems shows that the doctrine of the Medinese often lags behind and is dependent on that of the Iraqians; our sources show that the term "*sunna* of the Prophet" is early Iraqian and not Medinese; and the whole concept of Medina as the true home of the *sunna* turns out to be a fiction of the early third century and as yet unknown at the end of the second. This direct evidence of our sources enables us to draw conclusions which we could not draw with anything like the same certainty if we had to apply our historical intuition or personal prejudice to the historical tradition which is notoriously weighted in favour of Medina and against the Umaiyads. I shall later have occasion to mention another group of examples, in which the evidence of legal traditions is of even greater material importance for the correct appreciation of the Umaiyad period.

Let us consider the broad outlines of the reasoning by which we can arrive at the new approach to Islamic traditions which I have in mind. Volume VII of the printed edition of Shāfi'ī's *Kitāb*

[1] I borrow this formula from A. N. Poliak, in *AJSL.*, vol. lvii, 1940, p. 62.

[2] See my forthcoming book, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

al-Umm[1] contains several treatises in which Shāfi'ī discusses the doctrines of his predecessors: Iraqians, Medinese, and Syrians. Widely as these ancient schools of law differ amongst themselves, they are agreed on one essential point which divides them sharply from Shāfi'ī. According to the ancient schools, traditions from the Prophet as such do not as yet possess an overriding authority; only Shāfi'ī, obviously under the influence of the pressure group of traditionists, upholds consistently the doctrine that when there exists a tradition from the Prophet, no other argument is valid. Shāfi'ī's work is full of monotonous repetitions of this essential doctrine of his, and it is clear that this doctrine was a startling innovation in his time.

It is certain, too, that the great mass of legal traditions which invoke the authority of the Prophet, originated in the time of Shāfi'ī and later; we can observe this directly by following the successive stages of legal discussion and the ever-increasing number of relevant traditions incorporating gradual refinements. It can further be shown that legal traditions from the Prophet began to appear, approximately, in the second quarter of the second century A.H. This explains why the doctrine of Medina as established by Mālik in his *Muwaṭṭa'*, disagrees often with traditions from the Prophet with Medinese *isnāds*, related by Mālik himself. These traditions sometimes express Iraqian doctrines and for this reason alone cannot represent the old Arab customary law of Medina as has been pretended.[2] They had gained currency in Medina immediately before Mālik and are the result of the activity of a pressure group of traditionists, whose aims were the same as those of a corresponding group in Iraq, each group is sometimes successful and sometimes unsuccessful opposition to its local school of law.

This is the first consideration; the second is as follows. In the course of his polemics against the ancient schools of law, Shāfi'ī continuously reproaches them for relying on traditions from persons other than the Prophet, from his Companions and their Successors, rather than on traditions from the Prophet himself. This is borne out by the evidence of the texts. Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'* contains 822 traditions from the Prophet as against 898 from others, that is

[1] Bulaq, 1325.

[2] E.g. by C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, iv, p. 99. Nallino's arguments take no account of the legal texts of the second century A.H.

613 from Companions and 285 from Successors. Shaibānī's edition of the *Muwaṭṭa'* contains 429 traditions from the Prophet as against 780 from others, that is 628 from Companions, 112 from Successors, and 10 from later authorities. The *Kitāb al-Āthār* of Abū Yūsuf [1] contains 189 traditions from the Prophet, 372 from Companions, 549 from Successors. In the incomplete text of the *Kitāb al-Āthār* of Shaibānī [2] we find 131 traditions from the Prophet, 284 from Companions, 550 from Successors, and 6 from later authorities. It cannot be doubted that the stage of referring to the teaching and the example of the Prophet was preceded by, and grew out of, an earlier stage in which reference was made to Companions (and Successors) only. It is not the case, as has often been supposed *a priori*, that it was the most natural thing, from the first generation after the Prophet onwards, to refer to his real or alleged rulings in all doubtful cases.[3]

The reference to Companions, as customary in the ancient schools of law, was not even of the same kind as the later reference to traditions from the Prophet, when a separate precedent was demanded for every individual decision. Instead of relying on individual traditions from Companions, the several schools adopted rather one or the other Companion as their eponym, or I might say patron-saint, putting their doctrine as a whole under his aegis and referring to him as their authority in general terms. In the case of the Kufians, for whom Ibn Mas'ūd fills this role, we can still see clearly that the general reference to Ibn Mas'ūd himself grew out of a similar reference to the Companions of Ibn Mas'ūd as the alleged founders of the Kufian doctrine, and most of the members of this group who are mentioned by name, turn out to be relatives of the Kufian Successor, Ibrāhīm Nakha'ī, who died in A.H. 95 or 96, and to whom most of the earliest Kufian doctrine was attributed in the first place. In other words: even the general reference to Companions (or to Successors), a stage which preceded the technical and formal reference to individual traditions from the Prophet, dates only from about the year A.H. 100.

We must therefore abandon the gratuitous assumptions that there

[1] Cairo, 1355.

[2] Lahore, 1359.

[3] Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, p. 72, rightly emphasizes the fact that only very few decisions of the Prophet on legal subjects can have been current in the Umayyad period.

existed originally an authentic core of information going back to the time of the Prophet, that spurious and tendentious additions were made to it in every succeeding generation, that many of these were eliminated by the criticism of *isnāds* as practised by the Muhammadan scholars, that other spurious traditions escaped rejection, but that the genuine core was not completely overlaid by later accretions. If we shed these prejudices we become free to consider the Islamic traditions objectively in their historical context, within the framework of the development of the problems to which they refer, and this enables us to find a number of criteria for establishing the relative and even the absolute chronology of a great many traditions. We find these criteria both in the text and in the *isnād* of traditions, and I should like to mention some of the more obvious conclusions.

One of these is that *isnāds* have a tendency to grow backwards, that after going back to, say, a Successor to begin with, they are subsequently often carried back to a Companion and finally to the Prophet himself [1]; in general we can say: the more perfect the *isnād*, the later the tradition. Whenever traditions claim an additional guarantee by presenting themselves as transmitted amongst members of one family, e.g. from father to son and grandson, from aunt to nephew, or from master to freedman, it can be positively shown that these family *isnāds* are not a primary indication of authenticity, but only a device for securing its appearance.[2] In other words: the existence of a family *isnād*, contrary to what it pretends, is a positive indication that the tradition in question is not authentic. This applies, for instance, to the legal and historical traditions related, according to their *isnāds*, on the authority of 'Urwa b. Zubair by his son Hishām, and on the authority of Ibn 'Umar either by his son Sālim or by his freedman Nāfi'. I do not deny, of course, that 'Urwa was the father of Hishām, or Ibn 'Umar the father of Sālim, or that a person called Nāfi' was a freedman of Ibn 'Umar. But it is certain that neither 'Urwa nor Ibn 'Umar had anything do to with the traditions in question, and

[1] This has already been pointed out by Goldziher in his *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, p. 157, and in *ZDMG.*, vol. l, 1896, p. 483 f.

[2] This has already been noticed by Gertrude H. Stern, *Marriage in Early Islam*, pp. 12 and 16, although Miss Stern on the whole seems to take *isnāds* too readily at their face value.

it can even be positively shown that the references to Hishām, Zuhrī, and Nāfi' themselves are spurious.

Our new approach to traditions disposes of the fictitious reputation as forgers acquired by some Companions of the Prophet. I mentioned how the natural desire to push back the frontiers of the unknown, caused some scholars after Goldziher to presume the authenticity of more and more traditions until they found themselves back in the generation of the Companions, in the thirty years after the death of the Prophet. From making the last step into the time of the Prophet himself, they were prevented by the influence of Goldziher's achievement and by their own critical sense. But then they had to credit the Companions of the Prophet, during the first thirty years or so after the death of their master, with the large-scale fabrication of spurious and contradictory information about him. This opinion seemed to gain credence from the fact that some groups of traditions which go under the name of individual Companions, show indeed common features, and from these features the alleged characteristics and tendencies of the personalities and doctrines of particular Companions were deduced.[1] The common characteristics and tendencies, however, are not those of the Companions themselves but of schools of thought in the second century, which put themselves under the aegis of the Companions in question in the way I have described before, and it is unwarranted to consider the Companions of the Prophet personally responsible for the large-scale creation of spurious traditions.

All this can be proved in detail with regard to legal traditions, and I should now like to say a few words on the application of the same method of research to traditions concerning other subjects. We ought, of course, not to overlook the possibility of different developments in different fields. Goldziher has pointed out that those traditions that were current in the Umaiyad period, were hardly concerned with law but rather with ethics, asceticism, eschatology, and politics.[2] This is confirmed by additional evidence and by the modest remains of Umaiyad literature which have come to light since.[3] "As early as the year 128 we read of an official

[1] The most ambitious effort of this kind was made by Prince L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, i, Introduction, §§ 18, 24–8.

[2] *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, p. 72 f.

[3] See C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (and *Supplementbände*), i, pp. 94 ff. Brockelmann erroneously states that Muḥammad b. 'Abdalmalik

appointing a committee of pious men to make a collection of *sunan* or approved practices and *siyar* rules of conduct, which were then to be written out by his scribe "[1]; but this refers to the recording of a political programme of government, and not to legal matters or traditions.

A. J. Wensinck, in studying the traditions concerning points of dogma, came to the conclusion that they reflected the development of dogma only as far as the end of the Umaiyad period.[2] "The main explanation of this," Wensinck adds, "is that the large mass of materials contained in the canonical collections, though it received its final form in the middle of the third century A.H., covers a period reaching no farther than the beginning of the second century." But this generalization goes beyond the facts of the case, and Wensinck's assumption that the same applies to traditions concerning questions of law, is contradicted by the whole evidence of the ancient texts. That the development of dogmatic traditions was indeed different from that of legal ones becomes obvious, for example, from Shaibānī's *Kitāb al-Āthār*, where the dogmatic sections (pp. 56–60) consist almost entirely of traditions from the Prophet himself, whereas they form only a small minority in the other sections.

Even so, dogmatic traditions from the Prophet ought not to be dated back into the first century indiscriminately. The dogmatic treatise ascribed to Ḥasan Baṣrī, whether or not it is genuinely his, cannot be later than the very early years of the second century,[3] and it shows that dogmatic traditions on the important problem of free will and human responsibility hardly existed at the time of its composition. There is no trace of traditions from the Prophet, and the author states explicitly: "Every opinion which is not based on the Koran, is erroneous." Two important dogmatic traditions in particular (they occur in the classical collections) cannot yet have existed when the treatise was written. The reasoning of one, "the writing of the recording pens has dried, and on every

'Āmirī, one of the reputed earliest collectors of legal traditions from the Prophet, died in 120; he died in A.H. 168 (Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ix, No. 303).

[1] D. S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 91, referring to Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ii, p. 1918.

[2] *The Muslim Creed*, pp. 52, 59.

[3] Text, ed. H. Ritter, in *Der Islam*, vol. xxi, 1933, pp. 67 ff.; translation and commentary by J. Obermann, in *JAOS.*, vol. lv, 1935, pp. 126 ff.

forehead is written Blessed or Damned," is decried by the author as an excuse of his opponents for breaking Allah's commands, and the argument of the other, that one should hobble one's camel but put one's trust in Allah, is used by the author *against* what became later the orthodox doctrine.[1] If we compare the relevant chapters in Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'* and in Shaibānī's *Kitāb al-Āthār* (the authors of these two works died in A.H. 179 and 189 respectively), the growth of dogmatic traditions, concerning the same problem, about the middle of the second century becomes obvious.

A field on which the new method can be applied with particular advantage is the vast field of traditions pertaining to history. The authorities for legal and historical information are to a great extent identical; apart from protagonists such as 'Umar, 'Alī, Mu'āwiya, and 'Umar b. 'Abdal'azīz, I will mention only important transmitters of traditions such as 'Urwa and Hishām, of whom I spoke before, Zuhrī and Sha'bī. If the family *isnād* with the names 'Urwa and Hishām in it serves to lend authority to legal traditions put into circulation after the time of Hishām, the same applies to historical traditions with the same *isnād*. If we can show that the legal opinions attributed to Sha'bī are invariably spurious, that this ancient worthy of Kufa had nothing to do with the nascent religious law of Islam as it was being elaborated in his home-town, and that his name was later claimed by two contending schools of thought, we are able to assess his political activity much more objectively than if we looked at it through the coloured glass of the religious and legal prejudices of a later generation.

As regards the biography of the Prophet, traditions of legal and of historical interest cannot possibly be divided from one another. The important point is that to a much higher degree than hitherto suspected, seemingly historical information on the Prophet is only the background for legal doctrines and therefore devoid of independent value. For instance, the Medinese regarded the marriage concluded by a pilgrim as invalid, the Meccans and the Iraqians regarded it as valid. The Medinese projected their doctrine back to Ibn 'Umar and, with spurious circumstantial details, to 'Umar himself. The opposite doctrine was expressed in a tradition to the

[1] The first tradition has parallels, somewhat differently worded, in Shaibānī's *Kitāb al-Āthār*, pp. 36 and 60 (not yet in the *Muwaṭṭa'*), and appears for the first time in Ibn Ḥanbal.

effect that the Prophet married Maimūna as a pilgrim. This tradition was countered, on the part of the Medinese, by another tradition related by Sulaimān b. Yasār who was a freedman of Maimūna, to the effect that the Prophet married her in Medina, and therefore not as a pilgrim, and by a more explicit tradition to the same effect related by Yazīd b. Aṣamm, a nephew of Maimūna.[1] We see that even the details of this important event in the life of the Prophet are not based on authentic historical recollection, notwithstanding the family *isnāds*, but are fictitious and intended to support legal doctrines.

This transformation of legal propositions into pseudo-historical information is one aspect; another is what might be called the independent growth of alleged historical material concerning the biography of the Prophet. We can observe this growth directly over the greater part of the second century in the discussions on the law of war, concerning which the biography of the Prophet was searched for precedents. The polemical nature of these discussions makes it safe to conclude that whenever an author does not mention a relevant historical tradition which agrees with his own doctrine and disagrees with that of his opponents, he was not aware of it, in other words, it cannot have as yet existed in his time. We find new traditions at every successive stage of doctrine, and the lawyers occasionally object to historical traditions adduced by their opponents, because they are unknown to or not accepted by the specialists on the biography of the Prophet. A considerable part of the standard biography of the Prophet in Medina, as it appeared in the second half of the second century A.H., was of very recent origin and is therefore without independent historical value.[2]

But the real test of the new approach to Islamic traditions which I advocate lies not in the negative and critical conclusions derived from it, important and timely as these may be; it lies in the value of the method as a tool for arriving at new and positive results. Here are some of these results in so far as they relate to Umaiyad administration. An attentive study of legal traditions reveals by

[1] See Shaibānī, *Muwaṭṭaʾ* (Lucknow, 1297 and 1306), p. 208; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ* Cairo, 1310), ii, p. 183; Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Ḥadīth*, on the margin of his *Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, p. 228.

[2] This conclusion agrees well with the evidence, correctly interpreted, of the fragments of Mūsā b. ʿUqba's (d. 141) *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. I intend to discuss this in detail in a separate paper.

certain indications, that a number of problems of early Muhammadan law arose from Umaiyad administrative practice. If we collect the points on which we must postulate an Umaiyad administrative regulation as the starting-point of Muhammadan jurisprudence, we find that practically all fall under the three great headings of fiscal law, law of war, and penal law.

For instance: the Umaiyad administration imposed the *sadāt* tax on horses; it used to deduct the *zakāt* from Government pensions; it levied *zakāt* tax on the property of minors. When payments were made in kind, the administration issued assignments on its stores which were considered negotiable. The Government gave detailed regulations on the levying of tolls; as a prospective residuary heir, it restricted legacies to one-third of the estate. As regards the law of war, it was the policy of the Umaiyads not to lay waste the enemy country wantonly; the Government controlled the distribution of booty, and recognized the customary right of the killer to the spoils.

The Umaiyad administration did not interfere with the working of the old Arab *lex talionis*, it only supervised the payment of weregeld: it deducted the sums due from the pension account of the culprit or of his tribe, if necessary in three yearly instalments, and paid them to the family of the victim; if a Christian was killed, only half the weregeld was paid to his family but the Treasury took the other half. Concerning the purely Islamic *ḥadd* punishments and similar penalties, the administration took a greater interest, though its practice differed in some respects from that regarded as normal later. The non-Muslim slave who tried to escape to the enemy was killed or crucified at the discretion of the Government, but the Government refused to cut off the hands of slaves who had escaped in Islamic territory and stolen, and reserved to itself the right to carry out all *ḥadd* punishments for theft on slaves. It was the practice under the Umaiyads not to apply *ḥadd* punishments in the army in enemy country, for fear of desertion, but military commanders were otherwise entitled to apply them, and banishment as part of the punishment for fornication was introduced in the interest of public morals. Traces of Umaiyad regulations outside the three fields mentioned are confined to the administration of justice, to the re-marriage of wives whose husbands disappeared and were no more heard of, and to fixing the position of the grandfather in the law of inheritance.

The points I have mentioned are not simple surmises; they are based on positive indications in traditions, if we are prepared to look at them historically and critically. I can fairly claim it as a confirmation of the soundness of my method, that it shows the existence of Umaiyad administrative regulations on those subjects on which we should more or less have expected them. But the full inference from the details I mentioned has never been drawn. This is the best proof that a truly historical and critical study of Islamic traditions is not only destructive but constructive, that it helps us not only to demolish the one-sided traditional sham-castle, but to use its materials for building a truer, more adequate, and more satisfactory model of the past.

Since I presented these conclusions to the 21st Congress of Orientalists in Paris, I have found an independent confirmation of them in a paper of R. Brunschvig, "Ibn 'Abdalḥakam et la Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes."[1] In this critical study Professor Brunschvig examines "historical" traditions relating to the Arab conquest of North Africa and shows how deeply imbued they are with legal interest, how the seemingly straightforward statements on historical persons and events are often nothing but decisions of legal problems, provided with alleged historical precedents; he concludes that the whole of the "historical" narrative is subject to grave doubts, that only the barest outlines represent, or are likely to represent, authentic historical recollection, and that the details are unreliable.

To sum up: In the field of law, the "*sunna* of the Prophet", based on formal traditions from him, developed out of the "living tradition" of each of the ancient schools of law, the common doctrine of its specialists. Some of its features might, of course, in the last resort, go back to an early period, but it acquired its superstructure of formal traditions from the Prophet with proper *isnāds* only about the middle of the second century A.H., as a result of the activity of the traditionists. The imposing appearance of the *isnāds* in the classical collections of traditions ought not to blind us to the true character of these traditions, which is that of a comparatively

[1] In *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* (Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Alger), vi, 1942–7, pp. 108–155. The paper is dated January, 1945, and was published in October, 1948.

ipsum systematization of the "living tradition". The same is true in the field of history; here, too, the vague collective memory of the community was formalized, systematized, replenished with details, and shaped into formal traditions with proper *isnāds* only in the second century A.H.

Some Early Travels in Arabia

By C. F. BECKINGHAM

THERE are a number of journeys made, or alleged to have been made, in Arabia between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century of which there is no mention, or at least no adequate account, in Hogarth's *Penetration of Arabia* or in R. H. Kiernan's *Unveiling of Arabia*. Many of these omissions are due to the little use they made of the Portuguese historians.[1]

The earliest of these journeys is one the elder Cabot is said to have made to Mecca. Our sole authority for his claim is a dispatch of the Duke of Milan's ambassador in London, Raimondo di Soncino, dated 18th December, 1497,[2] according to which Cabot said he had on previous occasions visited Mecca and had talked to the spice merchants there. This is not the most interesting and has not been the most discussed of Cabot's voyages, and its authenticity has come to be somewhat uncritically accepted. Harrisse at first rejected it on the grounds that in the fifteenth century, as in the nineteenth, Christians could not even approach Mecca, and he suggested that the remark might refer only to a journey to Arabia.[3] In a later work he accepted it and was concerned to prove that the journey must have taken place after 1476, when fifteen years' continuous residence at Venice enabled Cabot to acquire Venetian citizenship, but before his arrival in England about 1490.[4] Professor J. A. Williamson once suggested that the information, being second-

[1] How little may be judged from Hogarth's reference to Dom João de Castro as "pilot of the Governor of Goa". The only important Portuguese authority he used was the *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, of which the Hakluyt Society had published a translation. The histories of the Portuguese in the East to which he refers are the relatively unimportant works of Maffei and Lafitau. The former has a certain value since the papers to which Maffei had access included a part of Castanheda's history now lost except for a few extracts copied for Maffei himself and preserved in the archives of the Society of Jesus. Lafitau is worthless as an original authority.

Of the travellers considered here only two, Covilhã and da Quadra, are mentioned by Hogarth and Kiernan, who say nothing of the former's journey to Mecca and evidently did not know the most reliable account of da Quadra's adventures.

[2] Printed in H. Harrisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 1882, pp. 324-6. It was first published in the Milan *Annuario Scientifico* for 1865.

[3] H. Harrisse, op. cit., p. 42.

[4] H. Harrisse, *John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian his Son*, 1896, p. 28.

heard, might be a little confused,[1] but he has since repeated it without qualification,[2] and it is stated as a fact in the article on Cabot in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.[3]

Harrisse's original argument against it hardly needs to be taken seriously since Cabot may well have travelled to Mecca in disguise like so many other Christians. Such an enterprise has always been dangerous, but not always equally so, as was shown in more modern times by the behaviour of the Turkish authorities to Hurgronje. Probably in Cabot's time it was much less dangerous than it became a generation later, after the activities of the Portuguese had made the Arabs suspect the European traveller of being a spy as well as a polytheist. Even if his Venetian nationality had become known, Cabot would have had little to fear unless his faith had been suspected, and there were many Italian renegades. After all, before the Cape route to India had been discovered, a European who had learnt all there was to know about the spice trade could still have done nothing to divert it from the Moslem countries and there was therefore no reason why their rulers should resent his presence. The experience of Varthema a few years later is revealing. His real character was known to some and suspected by others and yet he was not in imminent danger until he reached Aden, where news had been received of a recent Portuguese attack on Arab shipping.

There are, however, other difficulties about the story. The ambassador's phrase, " dice che altre volte esso è stato alla Mecha," implies that Cabot said he had visited Mecca more than once. If it was dangerous for a disguised Christian to go there at all, it would have been foolhardy for him to have gone there twice. There is no record of anyone having done so and it is hard to believe that Cabot would have even made the attempt, or, if he had really been there once, that he would have advanced so incredible a claim. Much importance may not attach to such a phrase in a second-hand account, but there is a more serious objection. According to the dispatch Cabot said that the spices were brought to Mecca

[1] J. A. Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots*, 1929, p. 144.

[2] J. A. Williamson, *The Voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot* (*Historical Association Pamphlet*, No. 106), 1937, p. 8.

[3] The *Encyclopædia* says that he visited Mecca " during one of his trading voyages to the Eastern Mediterranean ", which is mere conjecture, and adds irresponsibly that Mecca was " then the greatest mart in the world for the exchange of the goods of the East for those of the West ".

by caravans from distant countries, "per caravane da luni
paesi sono portate le speciarie," and that he had asked those
brought them whence the spices came; they had answe
that they did not know, but that other caravans brought them
their homes from distant lands, and that the men who brou
them said in their turn that the spices had come to them fr
remote regions. Cabot had inferred that the spices originated
the Far East, believing, in fact, that they came from Japan
could therefore be readily obtained by sailing westwards fr
Europe. Evidently he envisaged the spice trade as follow
a caravan route leading more or less due east and west across A
and presumably starting from a point on the mainland oppos
Japan, which he knew to be an island. Anyone who h
talked to the merchants at Mecca would surely have known that
spices had come almost the whole way by sea, and that the caravs
reaching Mecca had come, not from distant lands, but from Jid
a day or two's journey away.

There is no reason to doubt that Pero de Covilhã reached Me
and Medina. His travels were described by Francisco Alvares,
chaplain to the Portuguese ambassador who was in Ethio
from 1520 to 1526.[1] Covilhã had then been living there for so
thirty years, having been refused permission to leave the count
by successive emperors. The embassy made much use of his kno
ledge of Ethiopian languages and manners, so that Alvares,
observant and sensible man, who was also his confessor, must ha
come to know him very well. So, there is good reason to belie
the narrative, and Alvares specifically affirms his trust in Covil
who had supplied the details himself. Besides the story is plausi
in itself and few European Christians who have tried to rea
Mecca can have been better qualified to succeed. Covilhã kn
Arabic well and had gone on two missions to Morocco. He a
his companion, Afonso de Paiva, were chosen by the King
Portugal to investigate the spice routes and to search for Prest
John only when former emissaries had abandoned the attempt
Jerusalem precisely because they did not know Arabic. Alvar
indeed, remarks that Covilhã knew all languages, Christian, Mosle
and pagan. Moreover, he had had much experience of easte

[1] F. Alvares, *Verdadeira Informaçam das Terras do Preste Joam das Indi*
pt. 1, cap. 103, 1540 and 1889. A translation by Lord Stanley of Alderley
published by the Hakluyt Society in 1881.

travel before he went to the Holy Cities. He and his companion first went to Alexandria and Cairo in the guise of merchants, and then accompanied a party of Moors to Tor, Suakin, and Aden. Here they separated, Paiva going to Ethiopia while Covilhã proceeded to Cananor, Calicut, Goa, Sofala and Ormuz. When he returned to Cairo to keep his rendezvous with Paiva, he found that the latter had died. Covilhã was about to leave for Portugal when he met two Jews bringing instructions from the King. In obedience to these he wrote an account of what he had so far discovered and sent it to Portugal by the hand of one Jew, after which he accompanied the other back to Ormuz, where they parted. Covilhã then went to Jidda, Mecca, Medina, Mount Sinai and, by way of Tor and Zeila, to Ethiopia where, so far as we know, he spent the rest of his life.[1]

Alvares mentions in passing that the "Sancarrão", that is, the bones of Muḥammad, are buried at Medina. This detail is of interest. It was presumably derived from Covilhã and it is a further proof of his veracity that he did not suppose that Muḥammad's tomb was at Mecca, a mistake very common at that time and made by Barros, Couto, Castanheda, Correa [2], and, as we shall see, even by Arnold von Harff, who claimed to have been there.

In the account he wrote of his own travels [3] von Harff alleges that he left Cairo in July, 1497, and went overland to Aden, passing through Mecca on his way. This is a unique claim for a European

[1] Castanheda's account of Covilhã, liv. I, cap. 1, is evidently taken from Alvares and adds nothing. Barros, dec. I liv. III cap. 5, uses a phrase which implies that he obtained some information from Alvares personally as well as from his book, "do qual Francisco Alvares, e assi de hum tratado, que elle fez da viagem desta embaixada, que levou D. Rodrigo, soubemos estas, e outras cousas daquellas partes." He does not mention the journey to Mecca and Medina. Correa in his opening chapter gives a hopelessly confused account, according to which Covilhã and Paiva went from Egypt with a pilgrim caravan to Mecca, where they separated, Covilhã going to Ethiopia and Paiva to India. Later, in his third chapter on the Governor Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, there is a very different version. In this Covilhã goes by caravan from Egypt to Ormuz, makes his way to India, sails from Goa to the Red Sea, visits Mecca, and goes to Ethiopia by way of Egypt. Correa is in general notoriously unreliable about events which preceded his own arrival in India and what he says about Covilhã cannot be believed when he is contradicted by Alvares.

[2] Barros, dec. II liv. viii cap. 1: Couto, dec. IV liv. v cap. 3: Castanheda, liv. IV cap. xii: Correa, "Lopo Soares," cap. 9.

[3] First published in 1860. The Hakluyt Society has now made it accessible in a readable, scholarly, and carefully edited translation by Mr. Malcolm Letts.

to have made and it has not always been accepted. The qu deserves careful examination. Von Harff, like so many mediæv travellers, can sometimes, but not always, be believed. Th is no reason to doubt that large portions of his book are substantial true, but it also contains much about Amazons, sea monsters a the like. His Arabian journey formed part of a kind of circul tour of the East beginning and ending in Egypt. He says that set out from Cologne in November, 1496, and went first to Ital He sailed from Venice to Alexandria and proceeded to Cairo a Mount Sinai.[1] He asks us to believe that he then traversed t whole of Eastern Arabia to Aden, sailed to Socotra and Ceylo visited India and Madagascar, climbed the Mountains of the Mo and found the source of the Nile, the course of which he follow back to Cairo. He then returned to Europe through Palestin Syria and Turkey. His later travels are not relevant.

Except for some confusion about dates and minor matte von Harff's narrative is credible at least until his departure fro Sinai for Mecca and it becomes quite credible again with his arriv in Palestine. But no one can be expected to believe in his visit India or his journey down the Nile. It is enough here to say th not only does he include in this part of his book nonsense tak from, or at least worthy of, Mandeville, but he reveals gross mi conceptions about the geography of the Indian Ocean and stat that the source of the Nile is seventy-two days' journey fro Jerusalem!

If we do not believe in von Harff's Arabian venture, we c assume that he went direct from Egypt to Palestine but insert a fictitious account of a journey that would bring him back aga to a point where he could resume more or less truthful narratio If we do believe in it, we must also believe that, having reach Aden, or possibly Socotra, he returned to Egypt by a route whi he did not disclose, preferring to pretend that he made a far long journey, and so not merely added to his genuine travels, but at t same time concealed part of them. The former seems rather mo likely but conclusive evidence can only be afforded by the deta he gives of his journey in Arabia.

To begin with, he seems to have made a mistake about t

[1] He mentions that the monks of St. Catherine's had not received a visit fr a Latin Christian pilgrim for the past ten years. It must have been nearly t years since Cevilhá had gone to Sinai.

direction in which he was travelling; it must have been south or east of south once he had passed the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. He speaks of travelling eastwards for four days from Tor to "Negra", wherever that is; he does not mention any change of direction and he describes the Red Sea as a westward branch of the Indian Ocean. His estimates of the time taken are absurdly short. He allows only twenty-six days of actual travelling time between Cairo and Mecca, whereas the pilgrim caravans usually took nearly forty, and he claims to have accomplished the journey from Mecca to Aden in forty-six. The absence of recognizable place names is remarkable. After leaving Tor he enumerates ten towns in Arabia, of which Mecca is the only one to which he gives a reasonable name (Mecka). Aden he calls Madach, perhaps after Ptolemy. The rest cannot be identified satisfactorily, though it is sometimes possible to suggest where he may have found them. Although he joined a pilgrim caravan at Tor and so presumably passed through Medina he makes no reference to it, unless its pre-Islamic name, Yathrib, the Iathrippa of classical geographers, is preserved in his Trippa, which, however, he places ten days' journey beyond Mecca.

His description of his visit to Mecca is very strange. Although he was travelling openly as a Christian, he and a number of other Christians and Jews accompanied the Ḥājj until it was about two and a half miles ("half a German mile") away and well within sight of the city. It is remarkable that a professing Christian should have been allowed to remain with the pilgrims after they had assumed the Iḥrām, or pilgrim dress, which is done at Abyar Ali, one march south of Medina, and it is stranger still that he should have been allowed to see Mecca at all, even from the outside. Yet his Mameluke dragoman, a Christian renegade, took the enormous risk of taking him into the city suitably disguised. Mecca itself, Mr. Eldon Rutter's "breathless pit", enclosed between the barren rocky walls of a valley about half a mile wide, seemed to von Harff "a very pleasant town surrounded by beautiful gardens of trees with rare fruit". Beside it "a fine and large river" ran southwards to the Red Sea. There is, of course, no such river anywhere in the Hejaz, although more reliable travellers in Arabia have sometimes mistaken a torrent in spate for a river. At Mecca, however, the torrent does not flow "beside" the city but down the main street. The mosque, he says, is "built as high as any on earth", an odd remark for one who had seen the minarets of

Cairo and the mosque at Medina; for the height of the Ka'ba is only about 50 feet and of the surrounding wall some 25 feet.[1] He tells us that all entered bare-headed and bare-footed; bare-headed they must have been if they were wearing the Iḥrām, but not necessarily bare-footed. The instep must be uncovered, but the pilgrim often wears sandals. They proceeded to the "east end of the church" where the tomb of Muḥammad was. "Church" (Kirche) is a curious word to apply to the open courtyard enclosing the Ka'ba. As for the tomb, Mr. Letts remarks that the Ka'ba appears to be confused with the tomb of Muḥammad at Medina and observes how common this mistake was. All the same, the Ka'ba stands in the middle, not at the east end of the court-yard and is about 50 feet high, 40 feet long, and 33 feet broad[2]; von Harff gives the measurements of the tomb he saw as 5 by 10 by 4 feet.

In fact, this description seems to be a confused account of Medina. Its surroundings deserve his praise better than those of Mecca. Mr. Eldon Rutter writes that the area between Medina and the Ḥarra is "thickly grown" with palm trees in the shade of which corn and vegetables are cultivated.[3] There is a watercourse which passes along the south wall and through the eastern suburbs. The Prophet's mosque, then recently enlarged by Qāit Bey, is more likely than the Ḥaram at Mecca to have impressed a visitor by its height. Muḥammad is buried near the south-east corner and though the tomb is not shown to visitors, Burton was told that it was a marble block.[4] One can only assume that von Harff had heard a description of Medina and had accepted it as a description of Mecca because, like so many of his contemporaries in Europe, he believed that Muḥammad was buried there and that his tomb was the object of the Moslem pilgrimage.

It is unnecessary to consider in detail the little which von Harff records about the rest of his Arabian journey. He refers to four large rivers, one of them falling into the sea at Aden, to communities of Ethiopian Christians, to a town twenty-three days' travel beyond Mecca where "Chaldean" (presumably Syriac), was spoken and to a King of Saba who was subject to the "great lord of India".

[1] Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, 1928, vol. i, p. 262.
[2] Ibid., vol. i, p. 219.
[3] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 207.
[4] Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al Madinah and Meccah*, 1856, ch. 16.

The rivers, except at Aden, might perhaps be explained as torrents coming down the wadis, but the Christians and the Syriac speakers are certainly not true. Mr. Letts suggests that by the lord of India Prester John is really meant. Even so, the statement is false. At this time South-West Arabia was wholly independent of Ethiopia.

From Aden, von Harff sailed to Socotra ("Schoyra"). Mr. Letts considers that his observations about the Socotrans have a "genuine ring" and that he either did go there or acquired detailed information at Aden. However, even if we ignore the magnetic rocks, the fight of the leviathan and the whale which he saw during his voyage, the Amazons he met and the island which had only male inhabitants, yet there are still serious difficulties about the more sober parts of his account. Less than ten years after his visit the Portuguese landed on Socotra and came to know it well. There are discrepancies between the descriptions of von Harff and of João de Barros.[1] The former tells us that the Christians had a bishop or patriarch whom they regarded as their leader and who had to pay tribute to the "great lord of India". Even if India means Ethiopia this is incredible. According to Barros the island had been subject to the Sultan of Qishn for twenty-six years when the Portuguese arrived there. Von Harff found the people "for the most part rich", and all were dressed in long dyed linen cloaks and blue turbans. This does not suggest the "gente mui bestial" of Barros, whose barbarism and idleness exceeded even the sterility of their soil and who dressed in homespun or skins. Von Harff's drawing of their costume is wildly improbable. He remarks, correctly, that the islanders have their own language, and professes to give the alphabet. What this seems to be is forty-seven characters from the Ethiopic syllabary, very badly written and out of order. There is no Socotri alphabet. Von Harff states that the island is "more than a hundred German miles in extent", that is, about five hundred English miles. Even if by "extent" he means the circumference, he is badly wrong. Socotra is some 75 miles long and is, on the average, about 20 miles broad.

It is more difficult to assess the accuracy of his account of religious observances, for not a great deal is known of the Christianity of the Socotrans. Barros, who agrees with him in saying that they practised circumcision, believed them to be "do casta dos Abexins", that is to say, Monophysites in communion with the Coptic Patriarch,

[1] Barros, dec. II liv. i cap. 3.

and this is quite plausible. Von Harff ascribes to them certain practices which he also attributes to the Ethiopians when describing his alleged journey down the Nile, and of these, the marriage of priests, the administration of Holy Communion in both kinds and circumcision are well-known features of Ethiopian Christianity. We have seen that he did not go to Ethiopia, but information about the Ethiopian Church was accessible both in Egypt and in Jerusalem. It is significant that what he gives for the Ethiopian alphabet is really Coptic.[1]

When he returned to Cairo he found that the "great Thodar", wishing to become Sultan, had fled to Damascus and seized control of that province. The ruling Sultan had assembled an army to send against him and von Harff accompanied this army from Cairo to Gaza by way of Bilbeis and Qatia. He gives the exact date of his departure and it has a bearing on the truth of all this part of his narrative. It appears that in the three MSS. in the possession of the von Harff family, on which the published German text was based, this date is given as 2nd November, 1499, but that in the oldest of them, which is in contemporary handwriting, "nuin" has been altered to "acht" in a later hand. As von Harff reached Cologne again in October or November, 1499, Mr. Letts accepts 1498 as the correct date. There are, however, serious difficulties about believing that von Harff was in Cairo even as late as 1498. The "great Thodar" can be identified from the earlier part of his work as the Dawādār or State Secretary. The detailed chronicle of Ibn Iyās shows that his attempt to take Damascus, which was unsuccessful, occurred in the autumn of 1497, not 1498. Moreover, in the latter year the Sultan himself was more or less a prisoner and could not have raised an army. Again in his description of the disturbances that took place during his first visit to Cairo, before he went to Sinai, von Harff says: "So the young Sultan, the son of Kathubee, obtained in this year the mastery, but how he fared later is unknown to me." The Sultan, the son of Qāit Bey, was assassinated on 31st October, 1498 (15 Rabī' I 904 A.H.).[2] It is hardly conceivable that von Harff should not have known

[1] Mr. Letts has included a note, for which he is not responsible, in which this alphabet is described as a "badly written set of Greek uncials" and as apparently including one or two Russian letters. It is, in fact, a reasonably correct version of the Coptic alphabet, except that a form of Z in reverse has been included as an additional letter.

[2] Ibn Iyās, ed. *Bibliotheca Islamica*, Tl. iii, p. 392.

of this if he did not leave Cairo until two days later. The most reasonable assumption is that he left for Gaza in November, 1497.[1] Now since he left for the first time to go to Sinai early in July of that year, it follows that he must have accomplished his Arabian journey in about four months. This would be credible only if we could believe his own fantastic statements about the time taken to travel between Cairo and Mecca and between Mecca and Aden.

Nearly every item, then, in von Harff's description of Arabia is false, nearly every statement he makes about his own movements and experiences there is incredible, and his account of Socotra contains mistakes of a kind unlikely to be made by anyone who had been there. The only possible inference seems to me to be that he did not go to Arabia at all, but that after visiting Sinai he returned to Cairo and left there for Palestine later in the same year.[2]

When von Harff regained his Rhineland home, Vasco da Gama had just completed the voyage which was to change profoundly the relations between Christendom and Islam and to lead to a vast and rapid extension of European knowledge of Asiatic geography. One of the objects for which the Portuguese worked most consistently was to obtain exclusive control of the immensely valuable Eastern trade. The mere inauguration of a direct route to India, which proved to be much longer than had been expected, was not enough to attract commerce from its accustomed routes through the Moslem countries, and the Portuguese attempted to divert it forcibly. In the Persian Gulf they built fortresses at Ormuz and Bahrein and in 'Oman. In the west, however, they failed in their attack on Aden in 1513, and when they had come to appreciate the military weakness of Ethiopia and the forbidding climate of the coasts and islands of the Red Sea, they were usually content to try to enforce a seasonal blockade of the Gulf of Aden between Cape Guardafui and Ras Fartak.

Their policy inevitably involved them in hostilities with the

[1] This is consistent with the date given by the MSS. for his departure from Damascus, i.e. 13th March, 1496, which Mr. Letts is forced to alter to 1499.

[2] It is convenient to mention here the alleged journey of a fellow countryman of v. Harff, Emanuel Ortel, of Augsburg. He and his companion went to Mecca from Cairo in 1561 and spent eight days there without molestation. They were struck by the similarity of the Ka'ba to the Colosseum, which does not inspire confidence in their veracity. See R. Röhricht and H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, 1880, p. 532.

power controlling the Levantine ports where the old trade routes had reached the Mediterranean, that is to say, with the Mamelukes, and after 1517, with the Ottoman Empire. These hostilities continued intermittently throughout the sixteenth century and Arabian travel became so much the more dangerous for Europeans. It was not, however, impossible. For one thing, although both the Mamelukes and the Ottomans were recognized in the Hejaz, and the Ottomans sometimes in the Yemen, neither had any effective authority in Central or South-Eastern Arabia. Besides, not all the Arabs were unfriendly to the Portuguese. The political alignment of the South Arabian rulers explains why some of the Portuguese journeys were possible. Aden commonly shared the fate of the Yemen and for most of the century was under Turkish rule. As it was a convenient refuge for ships hoping to run the blockade, its prosperity was increased by the tactics followed by the Portuguese but would have been ruined had those tactics been wholly successful. The policy of its governors, whether Turkish or Arab, was therefore nearly always hostile. Further along the coast was the Sultanate of Shihr, known to the Portuguese as the Kingdom of Xael, or Xaer, which included Dhufar, though not all the intervening territory. Sometimes at least the Sultan of Shihr recognized the suzerainty of the Pasha at San'a. Forming an enclave in his dominions and separating Shihr from Dhufar was the Sultanate of Qishn, known as the Kingdom of Caxem or Fartaque. Then, as now, it included Socotra, and seems often to have been on friendly terms with the Portuguese, once the latter had relinquished their attempt to hold the island permanently and had shown themselves content if their ships could call there for water. Beyond Dhufar, coastal 'Oman belonged to the Kingdom of Ormuz and contained several Portuguese forts. There were, therefore, a number of places in South Arabia where the Portuguese were liable to be called upon for assistance by the local population and where they could expect protection if forced to land upon the coast.

Nearly all the Europeans known to have penetrated Arabia during this period can be classified as being renegades, invaders, messengers in disguise taking important news to Europe, survivors from shipwreck, or captives. There were many renegades, but their adventures cannot be said to belong to the history of exploration. As for invaders, no Portuguese army ever tried to go far into Arabia. Before they had had much experience of the Red Sea,

some of their leaders, among whom was Albuquerque, toyed with plans for a raid on Mecca, but this was never so much as attempted. Even landings on the Arabian coast within the Straits of Bab el Mandeb were very rare. In 1517 Lopo Soares de Albergaria threatened, but did not attack, Jidda, and later expeditions to the Red Sea were not much concerned with its eastern shore. In 1586, however, Ruy Gonçalves da Camera put into a roadstead some ten or twelve leagues from Mocha and sent spies to obtain information about the town, which he hoped to burn. This he did not do, but three captains with their ship's companies and sixty soldiers were landed to procure water. The wells were half a league inland and a skirmish ensued.[1]

Without the straits, along the south coast of the peninsula, Turkish authority was less effective and Arab resentment at it once enabled the Portuguese to land a garrison at Aden. Albuquerque's assault on it in 1513 had been repulsed, but in 1547 the inhabitants expelled the Turks and invoked the help of 'Ali ibn Sulaimān, Sheikh of Khanfar, who offered the citadel to the Portuguese in return for their assistance. Dom Payo de Noronha, who commanded the Portuguese contingent, so far from marching into the interior, deserted his allies when the town was attacked, but two of his men took refuge at Khanfar, where they were shortly joined by the crews of two ships which had deliberately run aground when chased by Turkish galleys. They were all rescued by sea soon after.[2]

From time to time the Portuguese attacked towns along the coast or sent ashore armed parties to procure water and supplies. In 1547 Dom Alvaro de Castro, sent to relieve Aden and arriving too late, stormed Shihr on his return voyage.[3] Ruy Gonçalves da Camera, returning from the Red Sea in 1586 and being short of water, landed six leagues from Bab el Mandeb. He found the place so well watered that he spent the octave of Easter there, though not without molestation from the Turks, who killed several stragglers.[4] Yet no determined effort was ever made to hold

[1] Couto, dec. X liv. vii cap. 15, 16.

[2] Ibid., dec. VI liv. vi cap. 1.

[3] J. Freyre de Andrade, *Vida de D. Joâo de Castro*, 1651, liv. IV.

[4] Couto, dec. X liv. vii cap. 17. Couto considered that this water was as miraculous as that provided by God for the Israelites "when passing through this same Arabia".

permanently any place on the south coast west of 'Oman.[1] The garrisons in the forts there, cut off from the interior by mountains, were not likely to go far inland, but they came to know something of the narrow coastal plain. Barros remarked upon the relatively dense population of 'Oman and he knew the names of several towns, among them Nazwa and even Izki.[2] When 'Ali Bey's galleys from Mocha were threatening Muscat in 1581, 500 persons, including women and children, fled four leagues inland to a fort where the governor, who held it for a branch of the Beni Qaḥṭān, received them with traditional Arab hospitality and protected their possessions from his own tribesmen.[3]

Communication by sea between Portugal and India was slow and on many occasions when urgent information had to be sent, a messenger, often a Jew, an Armenian, or a convert from Islam, travelled overland through the Moslem countries, in disguise if necessary. Most of those mentioned by the historians went from Ormuz to Iraq and then crossed the Syrian desert, but some of them traversed part of Arabia. In 1513, when Albuquerque lay at Kamaran waiting for a favourable wind, he sent news of his exploits and projects to the King by a soldier who was landed on the mainland with his legs fettered so that he could pose as an escaped captive. This man, who volunteered for the task, had been a Moslem, but had joined the Portuguese at Azamor in Morocco, and he knew Arabic well. He delivered the message safely, and the King made use of him to carry back his reply.[4] Later, we hear of attempts to use the friendship of the Sultan of Qishn. In 1581 Fernão Telles, the acting Governor of India, tried to send enciphered letters to King Philip by the hand of a Venetian who was to be put ashore at Qishn with a letter to the Sultan asking him to arrange for his journey as far as Suez, whence he was to make his way to Alexandria.[5] Meanwhile the King had sent out a new Viceroy, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, with orders

[1] There is a curious statement in the article "Shihr" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* to the effect that the Portuguese occupied the whole coast from Aden to Muscat and held it for thirty-five years.

[2] Barros, dec. II liv. iii cap. 2.

[3] Couto, dec. X liv. i cap. 12.

[4] *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, pt. IV cap. 9, and Barros, dec. II liv. viii cap. 2. The latter remarks that if all the others in the fleet had known Arabic they would have been less afraid of the difficulties of his journey than of the hardships they endured at Kamaran.

[5] Couto, dec. X liv. i cap. 8.

to report his arrival at once by every means. Mascarenhas sent an Armenian by the same route as his predecessor's messengers.[1]

Shipwreck occasioned a remarkable journey along the south coast of Arabia by a small party of Portuguese in 1520. In the late spring of that year the fleet of the Governor of India, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, on its return from the Red Sea, encountered bad weather as it emerged from the Gulf of Aden ; the galley of Jeronimo de Sousa sank, but the commander saved himself and eleven fidalgos, saying, according to Castanheda's history, that since all the rest would have to die it would be best to save the gentlemen. They reached the coast two days later and set out to walk one hundred leagues to 'Oman. This they succeeded in doing despite the hostility of the Arabs, by whom they were abused, attacked, and robbed of their clothing. Barros relates that when, near Ras al Hadd, they secured the protection of a sheikh owing allegiance to Ormuz, they no longer looked like men, so much had they been burnt by the sun and disfigured by the effects of hunger, thirst, and their exertions.[2]

A pleasant story relating to a similar incident is told by Alvares and by Castanheda when describing the return voyage of Eitor da Silveira, who brought back the Portuguese embassy from Ethiopia in 1526. After leaving Ormuz he took three prizes ; the young prisoners were assigned to the royal galleys and the old ones sold for ten cruzados each. Among the latter was an aged Jew who had once befriended some Portuguese wandering in the Sultanate of Qishn, to whom he had given food, clothing, and money. One of them, a poor soldier from Viseu, was present and recognized his benefactor ; he told his story to the Governor and asked that, as he had not ten cruzados with which to ransom him, the Jew should be given to him and the purchase money deducted from his pay. The Governor sent for the Jew and asked if he recognized anyone there. He pointed out the soldier he had helped, to whom he was then given by the Governor. The soldier took the Jew about among the Portuguese telling their story and collecting alms for him.[3]

[1] Ibid., dec. X liv. i cap. 9. A slight textual emendation seems to me to be required at this point. The original reads: "em Caxem pera de alli partir pera o Reyno. Por via de Suez escreveo áquelle Rey, etc." The full stop should surely follow "Suez" not "Reyno".

[2] Castanheda, liv. V cap. 32. Barros, dec. III liv. iv cap. 3.

[3] Alvares, op. cit., pt. ii, cap. 3. Castanheda, liv. VII cap. 5.

Although the Turks and Arabs never secured a large number of Portuguese prisoners at once, small bodies, usually the crews of individual ships, were captured from time to time. Many of them were taken into the interior, often to be presented to the Pasha at San'a. The twelve Portuguese captured in Ethiopia with Dom Cristovão da Gama when he was defeated by the Moslems in 1542 were sent to the governor of Zabid, along with their leader's head.[1] One of the most notable Portuguese prisoners ever made by the Turks was Roque de Brito, who had just relinquished his command as Captain of Malindi and was waiting for a passage to India, when he was captured by 'Ali Bey in a raid on East Africa in 1586. He was sent to San'a and was given by the Pasha to the Turkish Sultan himself. He died at Constantinople after he had already been ransomed for 2,000 cruzados. Nearly sixty others were taken in this raid, some of whom were mestizos. Most of them were well treated by the Pasha and were employed as gardeners at San'a until they were gradually ransomed.[2] When the captive Jesuit fathers, Pedro Paez and Antonio de Montserrat, were brought to this same Pasha in 1589 they found that there were still twenty-six Portuguese and five Indian Christians among his prisoners, all of whom had been captured on the African coast.

Another remarkable prisoner was the Jesuit historian, Manoel de Almeida. In 1633 he and three companions, Manoel Barradas, Damião Calaça, and Giuseppe Geroco, were trying to return to India from Ethiopia and were held captive for six months by the Amir of Aden. For a time they were at Khanfar, which Almeida describes as being so terrible a place that it was only by a miracle that they escaped with their lives. They also spent twenty days at Lahej. Almeida remarks upon the decline in the prosperity of Aden; for every house he saw standing there were from twelve to fifteen in ruins.[3]

There are two memorable journeys made by Portuguese captives which deserve more detailed consideration, that of Gregorio da Quadra across Northern Arabia from Medina to Iraq, and that of the Jesuits, Pedro Paez and Antonio de Montserrat, from Hadhramaut through Marib to San'a. By far the best authority for da Quadra's journey is Damião de Goes, who had heard him

[1] Correa, "Martim Afonso de Sousa," cap. 51.

[2] Couto, dec. X liv. vii cap. 8.

[3] Almeida, *Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia*, liv. I, cap. 9.

describe his own adventures many times. His narrative may be summarized as follows.

Da Quadra commanded a brigantine in the squadron of Duarte de Lemos which left Malindi on 20th August, 1509, and sailed north along the African coast. They arrived at Mogadishu and at night, while riding at anchor, the cable of da Quadra's ship broke. Everyone on board was asleep, the ship was carried away from the fleet by the current and when the crew awoke they did not know where they were. They doubled Cape Guardafui and reached Zeila, where they were captured. Da Quadra and some of his companions were sent to Zabid as a present to the "King of Aden", who had numerous captives. Da Quadra learned Arabic and supported himself and his companions by making coloured caps. After some years a neighbouring ruler defeated the King of Aden, annexed the greater part of his kingdom, and released da Quadra and the five other Portuguese who were still alive. Da Quadra pretended to be a pious Moslem and accompanied the new King on a pilgrimage to the grave of Muḥammad at Medina. They arrived two days after the Damascus caravan had left. On the pretext of wanting to visit the shrine of the grandsons of Muḥammad in Persia he obtained permission to try to catch up with the caravan and was given a supply of money and food. He did not succeed and he wandered in the desert until, exhausted by hunger and the heat, he resigned himself to death and knelt down praying to God for forgiveness for his sins. He then felt himself miraculously carried to the summit of a sandhill from which he saw a man and a camel. He made his way towards them and came upon a caravan which had halted for watering. He begged for food and was treated with kindness as he was assumed to be a person of great sanctity. The caravan took him to "Babylonia" and thence he made his way to Basra and so to Ormuz. There the Captain, Dom Garcia Coutinho, received him with honour and gave him a passage to India, whence he returned to Portugal, arriving in 1520.[1]

This is a convincing story and can be correlated with known historical events. The mishap to the ship is likely enough. In summer the East Africa coast current is very strong, sometimes exceeding four knots, and there is a northerly current past Cape

[1] Goes, *Chronica do Serenissimo Senhor Rei D. Emanuel*, 1566, 67, pt. ii, cap. 20; pt. iv, cap. 54.

Guardafui throughout the year.[1] The "King of Adea" was 'Āmir ibn 'Abdul Wahhāb, the last of the Tahirid dynasty whose capital was at Zabid; Varthema remarked upon the large number of captives he had. Caps are still an important item of masculine dress in the Yemen. The neighbouring ruler who freed da Quadra was the Sharif Abu Muḥammad Numaiy, then associated in the government of Mecca with Barakāt II; his dominions included Zabid for a short time after the Egyptians had expelled 'Āmir in the summer of 1516. The pretended object of da Quadra's journey was, of course, Kerbela, the shrine of one of Muḥammad's grandsons, the Imam Ḥusain; it was then under Persian rule. The reference to the burial of Muḥammad himself at Medina is perhaps significant; we have already seen how rarely the Portuguese historians were right about this.

The incident is to be found also in Castanheda, who describes it very briefly and gives no details of the journey, and in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque*.[2] The latter was the only version known to Hogarth, who was somewhat sceptical about what he thought was an unsupported and peculiar story. He seems to object that it is asserted that da Quadra professed Christianity at Medina with impunity and that he crossed North Arabia alone.[3] These criticisms are rather unfair. The narrative implies that his profession of faith, which was made before Muḥammad's tomb, was either not heard or not understood since the sheikhs who were present are said to have misunderstood the emotion he showed and to have been amazed at his piety. As for his crossing of Arabia, it is nowhere claimed that he did so alone, but merely that he set out alone and met with a caravan which he accompanied to "Babylonia". However, although it confirms the more important statements of Goes, there are some inaccuracies in this account. It alleges that on the morning after da Quadra's ship had been carried away from her moorings the crew found that she was opposite Aden. It is not credible that in less than one short summer night, for it was already night when the cable broke, wind and current alone should drive a ship from Mogadishu to Aden. Nor is it likely that, unless driven by the current, da Quadra would have ventured to sail near Aden; Goes is much more likely to

[1] *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot*, p. 17, 1944.
[2] Castanheda, liv. II cap. 117. *Commentaries*, pt. iv cap. 10.
[3] D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, 1904, p. 64 n.

be right in saying that he was taken at Zeila, as he might then have been trying to reach Ethiopia. Again, the author of the *Commentaries* agrees with Goes and Castanheda that the brigantine was in the squadron of Duarte de Lemos, but he states that when the Portuguese attacked Aden, that is to say, in 1513, da Quadra and his companions had already been prisoners for eight years. This is impossible since Duarte de Lemos was not sent to the East until 1508. The ruler who freed them is here represented as one of the principal inhabitants of Zabid who is said to have revolted and taken possession of the city a few days after Albuquerque had left the Red Sea on his return voyage to India. In fact, 'Āmir ibn 'Abdul Wahhāb retained control of Zabid until he was expelled by Ḥusain al Mushrif, the admiral of the Mameluke Sultan, in 1516. These mistakes, however, do not destroy the value of this chapter of the *Commentaries* as independent evidence of the truth of what da Quadra told Goes.[1]

Goes says that, after his return to Portugal, da Quadra so impressed King Manoel by what he was able to report about Arabia and, from hearsay, about Ethiopia, and the great lake from which the Nile, the Zaire (i.e. the Congo) and other great rivers were supposed to flow, that he was sent on an embassy to the King of Congo, with instructions to try to reach Ethiopia thence by land. The King of Congo, however, refused to allow him to continue on his way and sent him back to Portugal where he found that Dom Manoel was dead. He ended his life as a Capuchin friar.

Until recently the Jesuit fathers Paez and Montserrat were, so far as is known, the only Europeans who had reached San'a from Hadhramaut and, except for a mysterious person posing as a Moor of whom Arnaud heard, the only Europeans who had come to Marib from the east. The story of their journey is told by Almeida and by Paez himself in their histories of Ethiopia.[2] There is no need

[1] There is one inconsistency in Goes' own account. In one place he states, as Castanheda does, that da Quadra reached Ormuz when Lopo Soares was Governor of India, and in another, which agrees with a statement in the *Commentaries* that he was received there by Dom Garcia Coutinho. The latter held office under Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1518–1521), successor of Lopo Soares. Da Quadra's pilgrimage is also mentioned by Afonso Mendes who speaks of him as " curiositate ductum ". (Mendes, *Expeditio Aethiopica*, lib. IV cap. 8, in C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti*, vol. 9.)

[2] Almeida, op. cit., liv. V cap. 1–8. Paez, *Historia da Ethiopia*, liv. III cap. 15–21. Both Almeida and Paez are included in C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores*

to recount their personal adventures in detail as they have been described by Sir Charles Rey in *The Romance of the Portuguese in Abyssinia* and by Miss Elaine Sanceau in *Portugal in Search of Prester John.*

They were sailing from Muscat to Zeila on their way to Ethiopia when their ship was captured just after leaving the Kuria Muria Islands in February, 1590. They were disguised, but their pilot had told a friend in Muscat that he was conveying Portuguese to Zeila,[1] and the friend had warned the inhabitants of Dhufar to be on the watch for the vessel. The governor of Dhufar decided to send them to his master the Sultan of Shihr. They were taken along the coast in a small boat for five days, perhaps in order to avoid passing through the territory of the Sultan of Qishn. They disembarked at the mouth of a wadi which they assumed to be a great river, and travelled inland to Tarim and thence to Hainan where they were questioned by the reigning Sultan 'Umar. Here they met the sole survivor of another band of captives. The interpreter at their interview with the Sultan was a Burmese woman, formerly a Christian, who had been captured along with eight Portuguese in the time of 'Umar's father when a ship had been driven to Shihr by a storm. They had all been brought to Hainan; the Portuguese had died in captivity and she had apostatized. From Hainan the Jesuits were sent to the Pasha at San'a. They were told that the Sultan would have liked to hold them to ransom himself, but that the Pasha had claimed that 'Umar was obliged by the terms of his vassalage to surrender any Portuguese prisoners to the Turks.

The Jesuits left Hainan on Midsummer's Eve, having therefore spent about four months in Hadhramaut. The description of the country by Paez is of considerable interest as it is the earliest known account of the interior by a European. He was impressed by its poverty and by the unsuitability of the designation Arabia Felix. The greater part of the land was not cultivated at all; the parts that were yielded very poor crops and the population suffered much from hunger. Their staple crop was millet, but wheat, barley,

Occidentales Inediti. An account of this journey was first published in 1660 in an abridgment of Almeida's work by Balthasar Telles.

[1] Strictly speaking, neither was Portuguese; Paez was Castilian, Montserrat Catalan.

and dates were also grown. The Jesuits tasted coffee which Paez describes as "water boiled with the rind of a fruit which they call Bunê"; as is well known, coffee in Arabia is usually made with the husk and not the bean itself. He mentions the custom the men had of curling their hair and of greasing it with butter; he thought the effect very unpleasant when the hair became dirty as it usually did. There is an allusion to the respect paid to Sharifs; a Sharif was the only person who remained at the Sultan's audience. Paez describes the mourning for the death of one of 'Umar's daughters, which continued for a month. Twice a day women with dust in their hair used to assemble on the roof of a house, form two lines and beat their breasts, lament, and embrace each other. Cairns of stones were made over the graves of the dead and those of the richest persons were adorned with cupolas.

From Hainan they were taken to a fort, the last outpost belonging to the Sultan of Shihr, where the camels were watered. Then for four days and nights they rode across waterless desert. On the fifth day they reached a well where they were able to rest, and on the sixth they came to a small place called "Melquis". Here they saw "ruins of very large buildings and stones with ancient letters which the natives of the country cannot read". Such is the earliest known reference to a Himyaritic inscription by a European traveller. They were told that it had once been a great city and that Queen Saba had had many cattle there. Paez observes that if this is true it proves that the dominions of the Queen of Sheba included not only Ethiopia but part of Arabia as well. Melquis is evidently Marib, the name being derived from Umm al Qīs, the so-called Maidan there.

From Marib they travelled through well populated country to San'a, taking twelve days over the journey. This is surprisingly slow, for, according to Arnaud, the journey from San'a to Marib and back takes fourteen or fifteen days,[1] and Nazīh Muaiyad al 'Aẓm says that the caravans from San'a reach Marib in about five days.[2] San'a itself was described by Paez as having been a great city when it was captured by the Turks, but as having declined under their rule. In his time there were only some 2,500 houses, of which 500 were Jewish. After five and a half years here the Jesuits were sent to Mocha, passing through Ta'iz, "a small,

[1] T. J. Arnaud in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 4, tom. 5.

[2] Nazīh Muaiyad al 'Aẓm. *Rihla fī'l Bilād al 'Arabiya as Sa'ida*, vol. ii, p. 105.

well-walled town," and Manza'. At Mocha another year passed before they were finally ransomed. However, neither the history of Paez nor the letters which they both wrote from San'a to their superiors contain further information about the country where they lived so long.

One last journey deserves to be mentioned. Mendes, in his *Expeditio Aethiopica*,[1] tells us that in 1643 the Jesuit father Antonio de Almeida spent from March to September at Mocha and there he met a man who described himself as João Melo, chaplain to Mateo de Castro, Bishop of Chrysopolis and Apostolic Vicar of India. He proposed that Almeida should lend him money belonging to the Society and take in exchange a bill which would be paid by the Bishop in India. Almeida did not consider himself entitled to do this but gave him some money from his small personal allowance. When he reached India again he discovered that this man had been, not the chaplain, but the Bishop himself, who was a Canarese by birth and had come into conflict with the Portuguese authorities. The King had ordered him to return to Lisbon but the Bishop had taken advantage of his Asiatic origin to travel to Rome in disguise, going by way of Arabia and Egypt, and so avoiding any obstacles that the King might have been able to put in the way of his going to Rome, had he returned to Europe by sea. Mendes says that he made his way up the coast from Mocha and even visited the tomb of Muḥammad. There seems to be no reason to disbelieve the story of this journey and it has been accepted without question by his biographers.[2]

By this time the causes which had brought the Portuguese to the coasts of Arabia were ceasing to operate. Trade was now being more effectively diverted to the sea route to Europe, but their monopoly had been infringed and their naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean had gone. Ormuz itself was lost in 1622. Above all, the attempt at the conversion of Ethiopia, for which so many Jesuits had sailed to the Red Sea, had ended in total failure in 1633; the Negus had even secured the help of the Turks in excluding foreigners. The only part of Arabia to which Europeans still came

[1] Mendes, op. cit., lib. IV cap. 18, 24.

[2] F. Combaluzier, "Mathieu de Castro" (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, tom. 39, no. 1), 1943, p. 136. T. Ghesquière, *Mathieu de Castro* (*Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, fasc. 20), 1937, p. 93.

fairly frequently was the Yemen, and now was the heyday of Mocha. The story of English enterprises there is well known. The same cannot be said of the Dutch factors and their contribution to knowledge of Arabia, but that is a subject which requires to be treated in a separate article.

An Early Greek Pandore

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(PLATE XIII)

THE origin and history of the pandore and lute in the Near and Middle East is a perennial attraction to musicologists. Especially interesting is its emergence in Greece, where its Oriental origin is ackowledged.[1] It has been surmised that the word *πανδοῦρα* is derived from the Sumerian *pandur* or *pantur* ("little bow"),[2] and it may be perfectly true that in primeval times the pandore would have evolved from a "musical bow". Still, no such words have come down to us in Sumerian which actually indicate an instrument of music. On the other hand, a somewhat similar class of instrument is to be found to-day in the Armenian *pandir*, the Georgian *panturi*, and the Ossetic *fandur*.[3] Strange to say Nicomachus (A.D. second century) actually wrote *φανδουρα*. The pandore itself is delineated in eastern art remains much earlier than in Greece. It occurs on a Nippur plaque (*c.* 1700),[4] on Egyptian wall paintings (*c.* 1570),[5] and in later Susian,[6] Cappadocian,[7] Hittite,[8] and Assyrian Art remains.[9] The earliest examples from Greece have been those of the fourth century B.C., as shown in the art remains from Mantineia [10] and Tanagra,[11] both possessing, seemingly, a narrow periform sound-chest and a long neck. A century later, the name *πανδοῦρα* occurs in Euphorion, who spent most of his life in Syria.[12]

Of the lute we are not so fortunate in identifications. The figure (*c.* 1200 B.C.) discovered at Goshen, which is supposed to reveal

[1] Julius Pollux, iv, 60.

[2] F. W. Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians* (1937), p. 35. Curt Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments* (1940), pp. 82–3.

[3] Curt Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente* (1913), s.v.

[4] F. W. Galpin, op. cit., pl. viii, fig. 6.

[5] Curt Sachs, *History . . .*, p. 102.

[6] University Museum, Philadelphia.

[7] Max Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vi, p. 216).

[8] J. Garstang, *Land of the Hittites* (1910), p. 260.

[9] Carl Engel, *Music of the Most Ancient Nations* (1870), pp. 54–5.

[10] National Museum, Athens. See *Revue des Études Grecques* (1906).

[11] Louvre, Paris.

[12] Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina* (1843).

a lute with a broad sound-chest, is said to be of Minoan provenance,[1] but no such instrument is known in the Near East at so early a period. Even the Elamite examples in figurines from Susa (*c.* eighth century B.C.) are more akin to the pandore type than the lute. Examples much nearer the lute form may be seen in two British Museum examples of Greek origin, one (C. 192), probably fourth-third century B.C., and another (Weber Collection), are not unlike the South Arabian lute called a *qabūs*, *qabbūṣ*, or *qanbūṣ*.[2] The Stuttgart Museum has a later Greek instrument from Egypt of the same structure.[3] There are also later examples with more pronounced lute features from India,[4] and Afghanistan.[5] Yet no solitary example of the broader sound-chest, so characteristic of the Perso-Arabian lute, has come to light in the Near East.

In view of the foregoing, the appearance of a broadchested lute in Near Eastern art at any date prior to the dawn of Islam, would naturally arrest the attention of musicologists, and such came about on the appearance of *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* (Oxford, 1947), which was " a first report on the excavations carried out in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews), 1935–1938 ". The plates of the mosaic pavement of the palace are of intriguing interest. Plate 30 shows :

> " A musician seated beside a tree, with a dog at his feet. . . . He sits plucking the strings of a three-stringed instrument, the body of which resembles a violin " (p. 73).

Actually the instrument is not a violin, nor does it resemble one, and indeed Mr. Gerard Brett, who describes the mozaic so admirably, calls the instrument a *πανδοῦρα* or *τρίχορδον*. From the plate itself we seem to espy a lute in the lap of the performer, no different, save for the absence of a right-angled head, from the Arabian *'ūd* and Persian *barbaṭ*. From this plate it would seem that the Greeks possessed the lute before the Arabs. Yet knowing how deceptive photography can be, I wrote to Professor W. Barron Stevenson whose son, Robert B. K. Stevenson, was the archæologist to the Istanbul excavations, asking for further information and especially to obtain any other photographs of this particular

[1] Petrie and Duncan, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), p. 38.
[2] Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (1931), i, p. 73.
[3] Georg Kinsky, *Geschichte der Musik in Bildern* (1929), p. 14–5.
[4] *JAOS.*, i, pp. 344, 353.
[5] British Museum.



item in the mosaics. Through their kind offices I was presented by Sir David Russell with two photographs which were taken under better conditions. These confirmed my suspicions. The illusion of a periformed sound-chest of a lute was created by the shadow of the musician's mantle. This is quite clear from these new photographs, one of which is reproduced herewith. The instrument is a three-stringed pandoura, perhaps with a parchment belly (= the lighter shade of the belly). There is no peg-box at the head of the instrument, the tuning pegs being inserted into a pegboard. The *πλῆκτρον* is seen in the right hand of the performer.

Bentinck and the Taj

By PERCIVAL SPEAR

FOR many years the official folk-lore of British India has included a story that Lord William Bentinck once contemplated the demolition of the Taj Mahal in order to sell its marble. The point of the story has varied with the mental climate of the time: at first it was an illustration of Bentinck's supposed meanness; the arch "clipper" would even lay hands on the Taj in order to make money. Later it became evidence of the supposed vandalism of the British in early nineteenth-century India; even Bentinck, the otherwise praiseworthy economical reformer, saw nothing in the Taj worthy of preservation. For many years, after the circumstances of its origin and its early expressions had been forgotten, the story lived on in the realm of verbal folk-lore, but more recently it has been revived in print and its truth largely taken for granted. The story, if true, would be a serious reflection on Bentinck according to the standards of any civilized age, and it is therefore worth asking with some particularity upon what basis of fact it rests.

The story appears in E. B. Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*,[1] where it is stated that Bentinck seriously considered the demolition of the Taj and the sale of its marble. He "was only diverted because the test auction of materials from the Agra Palace proved unsatisfactory". The late G. T. Garratt repeated this story bodily from Havell.[2] More recently Mr. H. G. Rawlinson[3] has written "In the Company's days, the British were complete vandals; even so enlightened a Governor-General as Lord Cavendish Bentinck (sic) seriously contemplated the demolition of the Taj Mahal in order to provide lime for a new Government House at Calcutta." Further currency to the story has been given by Professor Woodward in his *Age of Reform*,[4] though he is careful to say that no reliable

[1] p. 246. There is an earlier reference in W. H. Russell's *My Diary in India*, vol. ii, 77. 7th ed. 1860. The latest reference is by C. L. Reid in his *Commerce and Conquest*, London, 1947.

[2] G. T. Garratt (ed.), *The Legacy of India*, 401–2. Oxford, 1937.

[3] H. G. Rawlinson, *British Achievement in India*, 178. London, 1948.

[4] E. L. Woodward, *Age of Reform*, 398, n. 3. Oxford, 1938, et seq.:

"There appears to be no reliable evidence for the story that Bentinck wanted to pull down the Taj Mahal in order to sell the marbles, and that the building was saved because the auction for the palace of Agra proved unsatisfactory."

evidence for it appears to exist. All these books have been widely read and the story may therefore be said to have emerged from the status of a myth to the position of an asserted though unverified fact. We may therefore ask on what authority these statements were made. Professor Woodward has sufficiently safeguarded himself. Mr. Rawlinson gives no authority and apparently relies upon general report. G. T. Garratt quoted Havell and confessed that he knew of no other authority.[1] He even thought that in Bentinck's time the Taj was not regarded differently from any other Muslim monument on account of the neglect into which it had fallen. At that time the late E. B. Havell was already beyond the reach of inquiry, and so the story, so far as these authors are concerned, must be regarded as an unverified assertion.

Efforts have, however, been made to trace the origin of the story and to test its authenticity. The first mention is by Fanny Parks, who quotes from the Calcutta *John Bull* of 26th July, 1831.[2]

"The Governor-General has sold the beautiful piece of architecture, called the Mootie Musjid, at Agra, for Rs. 125,000 (about £12,500), and it is now being pulled down. The Taj has also been offered for sale but the price required has not been obtained. Should the Taj be pulled down, it is rumoured that disturbances may take place among the natives."

She adds, "it is said a Hindu wishes to buy the Taj to carry away the marble, and erect a temple to his own idols at Bindrabund."

The next evidence is that of W. H. Sleeman [3] who visited Agra in the new year of 1836. He records the sale of marble from a broken bath suite in the Palace and adds:

"had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the Palace, and even the Taj itself, would have been pulled down, and sold in the same manner."

It would seem that this was the most probable source for E. B. Havell's statement, and also for Professor Woodward's mention of the subject. There is a third near contemporary source [4] which is worth quoting in full because of the light it throws both upon

[1] Private letter, 13th January, 1939.

[2] F. Parks, *Diary of a Journey in search of the Picturesque*, i, 220. 2 vols. London, 1850.

[3] W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, ii, 37. London, 1844.

[4] Lord Marcus Beresford, *Journal of my Life in India*, from 28th August, 1836, up to my arrival in England, 30th June, 1841. Commonwealth Relations Office Library, Eur. MSS. c. 70, f. 98.

the actual evidence for the Bentinck story and of its possible origin.

"no description of the Fort in any fairy tale that I have read exceeds the reality, which, as these ruins indicate, must have existed once—some small portions of the Zenana are not yet destroyed, but there are marks of the destroyers' hand having recently been here for plunder; the late Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, after seeing these beautiful remains, was guilty of the vandalism of ordering that the marble should be sold and proceeds credited to the public. I believe except his Lordship, there has not been an Individual Gentleman native or British who has seen the result of this order, that has not, I was going to say execrated the author of it. He had not even the excuse of disposing of a costly article, for a large price; the marble taken from these apartments is quite unsuited for modern residences—and can only be 'used up' for other purposes; a great deal was purchased by the men who make paperweights and such trifles for the Sahib Loge (the English are so called) and the rich redstone made curry stones. I hear that the sum realized by the distruction of these fine apartments, did not exceed five hundred pounds. We could hardly believe that such order was given, but a copy of it was procured, and Sir H. Fane has it. It is said also that he proposed to sell the Taj. He was offered a sum, under that he thought it worth, and so the standing out for a good Bargain, has saved this noble monument of a Monarch's grief."

The statements may now be examined a little more closely. Fanny Parks' quotation from *John Bull* cannot now be verified, because no files of the paper are known to exist in England, and the file in the *Statesman* office at Calcutta only extends from January to May, 1833.[1] But there is no need to doubt Mrs. Parks' accuracy as a reporter. The statement about the Moti Masjid is obviously untrue, and even an intention to sell was not suggested by any of the other sources who were nearer both to the scene of the alleged incident and the principal actor. Bentinck, at the time, was on his great North Indian tour, and, as will be seen later, the story had its origin in his visit to Agra in 1831. The statement about the Taj was accordingly not based on any proceedings at Calcutta, to which the editor might have had access, but was up-country gossip, which had reached Calcutta probably in the form of letters. The editor of *John Bull* at the time was Stoqueler, who says in his *Pilgrimage* that he left Bombay for England on 18th February, 1831.[2] The evidence of Sleeman is much more important, because he was a man of judgment and taste, and also an admirer of Bentinck

[1] Information supplied by *The Statesman*, 19th August, 1939. *John Bull* was absorbed by the *Englishman*, which was in turn incorporated with *The Statesman*.

[2] Stoqueler, *Pilgrimage* I, i.

for his humanitarian measures.[1] On the other hand, Sleeman visited Agra five years after Bentinck, being during that time in Central India as Assistant Agent to the Governor-General for the Sagar and Narbadda territories. It is reasonable to suppose that he was reporting military gossip in Agra and also that he believed that it had some foundation in fact. But this is a long way from establishing the incident as a settled fact. The third witness is Lord Marcus Beresford, whose sources of information were local and also clearly military. It will be noted that while he is circumstantial on the subject of the Fort marble, and openly hostile to Bentinck, he does not claim that the Taj story was more than a rumour. The evidence of these three witnesses may be said to point strongly towards an order by Bentinck for the sale of some marble from the Fort, but to attest to no more than a rumour that he had any designs on the Taj Mahal. If Sir Henry Fane, who succeeded Bentinck as Commander-in-Chief in 1835, was sufficiently interested in the sale of the Fort marbles to obtain a copy of the order, he would have been even more interested in an order for the sale of the Taj itself, if one had existed. His failure to possess himself of one certainly suggests that no such order did exist. This belief is reinforced (though not, of course, conclusively) by the fact that Sir Henry's son, who was aide-de-camp to his father, made no mention of the Taj in his travel book.[2] In an attempt to carry the matter further, two more sources have been tried. A search was made before the war of the *Proceedings* covering Bentinck's administration which are preserved in the India Office Library (as it then was). This yielded no result. The present writer has examined the General Consultations in the Home Department for the years 1830–3 inclusive. Here some clues are to be found. On 15th February, 1831, the cost of the establishments at the Taj Mahal, Ram Bagh, Akbar's Tomb, and the Bootad Mahal (sic. Moti Masjid ?), together with the figures for 1823–4 were called for.[3] On 26th April, 1831, there is a report about repairs to the buildings at Agra. In the General Letter to the Court of 19th August, 1831, the cost of the establishments at the Taj Mahal, Ram Bagh, Akbar's Tomb,

[1] W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, i, 140–1. London, 1844.

[2] H. E. Fane, *Five Years in India*. London, 1842.

[3] General Consultations, 15th February, 1831, Nos. 51–3. Commonwealth Relations Office Library.

[4] Ibid., 26th April, 1831, Nos. 19 and 20.

[5] General Letter to the Court, 19th August, 1831, paras. 46, 47 (No. 25 of 1831).

and the Moti Masjid is given as Rs. 485 odd per month compared with Rs. 401 in 1823–4. A reduction of Rs. 73 per month had been effected, leaving the monthly expense at Rs. 412. Thereafter the records are silent. These entries coincide with the period of Bentinck's visit and can clearly be connected with his well-known drive for economy. At the same time they show that, contrary to the general belief, not only the Taj but other important buildings as well, received some sort of attention from Goverment.

The second source was the correspondence of Lord William Bentinck himself.[1] There is no mention by Bentinck of the Taj, but it is thus described by a friend of his in 1834.[2]

"Despite all that I have heard and read of the Taj, I was taken by surprise—it is, I presume, the most beautiful mausoleum in the world, more costly, and yet chaster and more elegant than the chapel of the Medicis at Florence. In a country where we have erected no monuments, it is a satisfaction to see that the Taj at least is cared for; but it is a matter of regret to find the Fort, which I think far superior to anything that is shown in the Palace at Delhi, in a state of neglect and decay."

Major Mountain is hardly likely to have written in this strain if Bentinck was known to be indifferent to works of art.

The position so far reached may be summarized by saying that certain marbles in the Agra fort were sold at the time of Bentinck's visit and very possibly by Bentinck's order, and that the story of Bentinck's design on the Taj had its origin at the same time. There remain two further points for consideration. Which of the Fort marbles were sold and why were they disposed of, and what circumstances could have led to the circulation of a story about the Taj which could find no substantial evidence in its support even at the time of its origin? It is possible to explain the sale of the Fort marbles with some degree of certainty. Lord Hastings (then Lord Moira) visited the Fort at Agra in 1815 and recorded his impressions in his *Journal*.[3] One of the bathrooms in the Palace, he says, was too damaged to be repaired with the funds available; he accordingly removed the marble bath from this room and also the

[1] By permission of the Duke of Portland through the late Mr. Philip Morrell.

[2] Bentinck MSS. Major Mountain to Lord William Bentinck, 3rd November, 1834, from Meerut.

[3] *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, ed. Marchioness of Bute, ii, 19–20, 24th February, 1815. 2 vols. London, 1858.

marble basin of a fountain to Calcutta for use there. Sleeman embellished this action by adding that Lord Hastings intended to send the bath to his friend the Prince Regent,[1] and that Bentinck ordered the rest of the suite "with all its exquisite fret-work and mosaic" to be sold at public auction. Clearly, if vandalism there was, Lord Hastings was the chief culprit in first breaking up the suite by removing the marble bath. But Hastings explained in his *Journal* that the chamber was already too damaged to be repaired without great expense and conclusively showed elsewhere that he had a feeling for Moghul monuments. The Moti Masjid, which had been damaged by an earthquake (possibly that of 1794 which damaged the Qutb Minar) was repaired with marble lying about,[2] and the Taj Mahal itself had been carefully conserved and repaired,[3] being an exception to government policy elsewhere. There is no evidence that the bath ever reached its natural English home, the Brighton Pavilion.[4] Sleeman did not know of Hastings' own explanation of his action, nor did he know of the state of the dismantled bathroom when Bentinck visited Agra. It had been beyond repair at reasonable cost for sixteen years and the bath was missing in addition.[5] It would therefore appear that Bentinck's action in selling the bathroom offended nothing but the romantic sentiment which demands that all ruins, in whatever condition they may be, should be left to continue their decay in peace. This particular ruin could not even have been picturesque.

The circumstances of the birth of the Bentinck canard can now be considered. Lord William arrived in India in 1828, charged with reducing expenses and balancing finances which had been strained by the Burmese war. He was particularly instructed to abolish *half-batta* or partial field allowances which had been paid for some twenty-eight years to officers of the Bengal army even when in cantonments. Bentinck himself did not like this measure, which he pointed out would only save Rs. 16,000 per mensem, and would

[1] Sleeman, op. cit., ii, 36.

[2] Hastings, *Private Journal*, ii, 18.

[3] Ibid., ii, 26–7. Seeds of the *pipal* tree were imbedded in the dome. They were removed and the dome repaired just in time.

[4] Letter from Mr. H. D. Roberts, 13th February, 1939.

[5] Moghul baths of the kind in question were massive constructions occupying the centre of a marble chamber. Without the bath there would only be a shell of the room left, and this, on Hastings' evidence, was ruinous in 1815.

incur consequences altogether disproportionate to the economy achieved. But it was a definite order, repeated for the third time after two previous evasions and he had no choice but to obey.[1] "I myself do not approve the order,"[2] he wrote in private to the Duke of Portland. "The most odious duty in which I have been engaged is in enforcing the orders of the Court relative to reductions, by which, I am sorry to say, I have I fear, incurred universal dislike."[3] "The *half-batta* order is a misjudged one—I have said so, to those who issued it."[4] Metcalfe shared both Bentinck's dislike of the order and his conviction that there was no option to obeying it.[5] The "universal dislike" which Bentinck felt was no exaggeration of the case. Feeling was at its height in 1829 and 1830 and the reaction of the military was, in Bentinck's own words, "indecent, insubordinate, and unmilitary—and I have so told them."[6] When Bentinck left Calcutta in October, 1830, on his great North Indian tour, "his unpopularity swept before him like a pestilence."[7] At Cawnpore the officers showed their feelings by giving to the Commander-in-Chief's wife the attentions which should have been given to Lady William. A concerted scheme of insult followed him up-country to Meerut where the Commissioner Ewer joined in by refusing to obey a summons to attend a public meeting on official business. It was thus at the height of Bentinck's conflict with the army that he arrived at Agra and saw the broken marble in a bathroom suite in the Fort. To pass from the fact of the order for the sale of the Fort marble to the *mot* of the projected sale of the Taj was but a short step in the fevered military imaginations of the moment. It seems certain that in such a tense atmosphere any overt action or even words by Bentinck on this subject would have been carefully recorded and extensively broadcast. Many officers had already gone as far as they could short of mutiny and they had nothing to lose by silence. Bentinck had many critics at home, among them the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellen-

[1] Bentinck MSS. Bentinck to the Duke of Portland, 11th June, 1829. The evasions were by Lords Hastings and Amherst.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. Bentinck to Peter Auber, 10th June, 1829.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Letter of Sir C. Metcalfe, 8th March, 1829. Quoted by E. Thompson. *Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, 264. London, 1937.
[6] Bentinck MSS. Bentinck to Peter Auber, 10th June, 1829.
[7] E. Thompson. *Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, 276–8.

borough,[1] who would have found such information very convenient. That fact that nothing more than vague rumours at the time and reported statements five years later were forthcoming suggests that there was no foundation in fact for the Taj story. But that such a legend could arise in India on no firmer foundations is a well attested fact in British Indian history. One of the most recent instances is that cited by Lord Hardinge in his Memoirs [2] at the time of the foundation of New Delhi. The report emanated from Calcutta, which was hostile to the project of the new capital, that the city would be unlucky because the foundation stones were grave-stones taken from a local Muslim cemetery. The story gained such acceptance in London as to be repeated by Lord Ronaldshay in Parliament. Though ascertained by Hardinge to be false and publicly withdrawn by Lord Ronaldshay at Hardinge's insistence, it was still flourishing in Calcutta when Lord Hardinge revisited the city nearly twenty years later. The circumstances have an interesting similarity. In each case an action which is unpopular in a certain circle creates an atmosphere in which critics are ready to believe anything of their victim. The story, completely disembodied of all material exactitude, then joins the great body of Indian folk-lore, as fascinating and as independent of the factual world as its great company of brethren.

The conclusion seems warranted that while Bentinck did, in fact, order the sale of some marble lumber in a Moghul bathroom in the Agra Fort, the Taj story was an imaginative addition by his military critics. To them it was the supreme illustration of his meanness. It is also interesting to note that the military critics who showed such solicitude for the Taj belonged to the class who were in general the least solicitous of Indian monuments. Sleeman himself complains on the evidence of his own eyes of the use to which the Taj was put by the same officers who sought to discredit Bentinck.[3] It has been remarked that Bentinck was " disliked in spite of his courage and public spirit ". The truth is otherwise; in India Bentinck was disliked because of his courage and public spirit.

[1] T. G. P. Spear. *Lord Ellenborough and Lord William Bentinck. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1939.*

[2] Lord Hardinge of Penhurst, *My Indian Years*, 55–6. London, 1948.

[3] W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, ii, 37, ed. 1844. His protest was against quadrille and tiffin parties periodically given at the Taj.

Eclectic Preferences

A Fragmentary Study in Chinese Palæography

By L. C. HOPKINS

THE title of this short essay is not the outcome of any foible on my part towards a chance euphonious coupling of two not ill-suited concepts. The phrase indeed, being short, simple, and succinct, should convey accurately the motive and method which have together dictated the form of this study. Restricted as it had to be, the field of research is still wide, and the flowers that grow therein are not only time-worn, but their types show many and often baffling variations. Among these a choice had to be made, and I have made it, mainly in each case for the contrastive effect aimed at and displayed in the symbols of Then and Now.

 Modern 河 *ho* River.

Of the several trifling variants of , one is , which occurs in the sequence 土 河 屮 *t'u ho yo*, Earth, River, Mountain. These little variants contain, without revealing, the clue to the identity of several other forms found on the Bones. Fortunately there are further examples more valuable as guides to a solution. Thus we find the figure  (Bone 791), and  (Bone 834), and in this last we see on the left the wavy line standing so often in composition for *water*, while on the right is the key design  and, even more obviously, the figure on (Bone 791). Still more convincing are the ten forms of the type  shown in Mr. Kuo-Mo-jo's Bones (1440–1443), where the bent arm grasping the haft of a weapon held over his shoulder is visible. From the Japanese author, Mr. Takada, of the *Ku Chou Pien*,[1] I add an even more revealing figure . This curious little drawing, with its unusual head, may be regarded, indeed, as a capital example of our type, and in the words of the author "depicts a man having something carried on his shoulder

[1] See Ch. 31, p. 39, 古籀篇.

(何 擔 *ho ch'an*)". "For," continues Takada, "there are ancient vessels (古 器 *ku ch'i*) of Yin Shang date, where the character 何 *ho* is written , an integration of 人 *jên* man, and 可 *k'o* can."

This integrated design I have transposed [1] from its ancient into its modern guise, 何 *ho*. For instead of representing the verb to carry on or over the shoulder, the design has been ousted from its rightful sense, and forced to stand for a mere homophone, the interrogative syllable How? Why? What?, while the verb "to shoulder" has long been fitted with another and unsuitable homophone 荷 *ho*, the Lotus flower.

 Modern 主 *chu* to forbode, predict, presage.

Where, as in this instance, I give a sense widely differing from the usual, it is in justification of my choice. Here, the common use of *chu* is lord or ruler. I need not be diffuse over this archaic figure, but what I hold to be a discovery will prove rather disconcerting to received opinions. The use of  is so very common on the Bones that the Chinese specialists in the ancient script had to do something about it, and this group, as I venture to guess, reached a kind of "gentleman's agreement" regarding treatment of the difficulty. The nature of the frequent contexts of  led to its equation, in sense at least, with the word 有 *yu, to have*, the more so, as the correlative negative 亡 *wang*, is shared by both and 有 *yu*. In this manner excellent sense was made of the many passages where the otherwise obscure sign occurs. And thus all seemed fairly well to the Chinese specialists. But not to one modest inquirer in the West, to whom the design remained an unsolved enigma. I resolved to probe further. I felt convinced that there must have been an even earlier and more pictographic model than ; that it was some object both visible and tangible; that it resembled in outline such a vessel as , a lamp or candle surrounding a lighted wick;

[1] I have selected this word mainly as one specially suited in discussions concerning Chinese palæography, partly also from a suggested analogy with the variable keys of musical notation.

that, in fact, in the latter we saw the most primitive sketch of *chu* 主.

But the end of my probing search was more successful than I had begun to hope for.

The last paragraph of the entry under the character 主 *chu*, in Couvreur's *Dictionnaire Chinois-Français*, p. 830, is as follows: Pronostiquer. 且主餓死 (家實) *Ts'iè tchou ngo seu.* "De plus ce signe annonce que vous mourrez de faim." 主蒼下雨 *tchou tcho hia iu.* "*C'est un pronostic de pluie.*"

Neither the Shuo Wen nor Kanghi's Dictionary contains this important sense of the character 主 *chu*. But the authority of the great Jesuit scholar, Seraphin Couvreur, suffices. Thus, by this confirmation from an unexpected source, I feel convinced of two things, first that  was a very early form of the character 主 *chu*, and second, that the sense of presage, foretelling, omen, though now obsolete in the usage of current literature, was once a term of recognized application among professional adepts of scapulimancy.

 Modern 后 *hou* descendant.

The main reason that attracted me to attack and, I hope, to clarify a new and perplexing group of ancient pictograms, and what turned the inclination into a resolve, was that a foremost Chinese scholar in this branch of research seemed to beckon me to resume a task and challenge that faced me twenty-eight years ago. In Section 14 of the Chia Ku Hsüeh Wen Tzŭ Pien, under the heading of the character 育 *yü* (according to K'ang-hsi), are shown no less than twenty variants of one type, of which the sound was, according to the critic Wang Kuo-wei, *hou*, but I suggest that there are, in fact, two sub-types in the group. Now neither the evidence itself nor Mr. Wang Kuo-wei's mode of presenting it being free from complexity, it will be well to display the three archaic forms in the order of their relative frequency of occurrence in the texts cited by the author. They are:—


A
16


B
3


C
1

Let us hear Mr. Wang's comments first on Fig. A, a compound of a *woman* above, and *new born infant, inverted*, below, and round the latter in some cases are a few drops, taken to represent the amniotic fluid at child-birth. This design, he says, figures the act of parturition (象產子之形 *hsiang ch'an tzŭ chih hsing*). But note that he does not add, as he does in various similar cases, that it is the original 本 *pên*, or 初 *ch'u* first, *form* of the character.

In immediate deference to the large group of Fig. A, Wang continues, Judging by its formation this character is the Shuo Wen's "occasional form" 籀, of 育, being composed of 每, *i.e. mu, mother*, and 𠫓, *i.e. tzŭ, child, inverted*. And here we meet our first snag. Wang holds that this 或體 *huo t'i* "occasional form", is "*this* (此)" *tzŭ* character, namely Fig. A, being composed with the same elements, and therefore being the word *hou* 后, in its earliest form. But the Shuo Wên speaks otherwise. For the "spelling" of 育 is *yuk* (*yü* in N. China), viz. 余六 *yü luk*, according to the authoritative system of 孫叔言 Sun shu-yen introduced towards the end of the Han Dynasty, or about A.D. 200, and unknown to the author of the Shuo Wen.

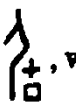
Coming now to Fig. B , with its three examples, Wang describes it as composed with 肉 *jou* flesh and 子 *tzŭ*, child, and thus the earliest character of 育 [*yü*, to bear, bring up]. This particular analysis of Fig. B I am bound to challenge and dispute. Where has this cup or bowl-shaped object been found as a variant of *jou*? Surely, it more resembles a variant of 口 *k'ou*, a mouth. And I suggest, if rather tentatively, a more probable explanation. I call attention to the unusual arrangement of the two components, the emphasized proximity, and reciprocal intimacy, of the child and the breast. Surely here we have a symbolic group of a newborn child drawing its milk from its mother's breast.

And so, by different routes, Wang Kuo-wei and myself reach the same conclusion. And now we reach our Figure C.

This is a rare and, as described by Wang Kuo-wei, a palæographic treasure. Only one example of its use is known, but that one is beautifully clear, and moreover is followed by the single word *tzŭ*  son. This pair thus seems to mean "to bear a son", whether the first is to be read *hou*, or *yü*, or *ch'an*. And these three syllables

should, as Wang insists, by their vivid realism represent the pains of parturition. And he points out that this is equally true of Figure C, as to which he seems, as it were, casually to affirm that its lower component , is the form , described by the *Shuo Wên* as 女陰 *nü yin*, that is (by a flight into Latinity) *muliebria pudenda*. The subject obviously cannot be pursued here.

Still I cannot but welcome the unusual, unexpected, and to some perhaps unwelcome light thrown by Wang Kuo-wei on the true construction of our Figure C. He has, so far as his authority goes, inferentially rehabilitated the repute of the author of the Shuo Wên as a trustworthy guide. I am one of those who have always distrusted the notion that Hsü Shên's curt and positive definition was the issue of a ribald or Rabelaisian fancy.

We can end this examination of the previous forms of 后 *hou* on a simpler note. Among the examples cited by Wang in his detailed exposition is , where in place of the ordinary *woman* component we find , i.e. *man*, this has become  in the modern scription; beneath, or as Wang writes *behind*, this we see in modern shape , where the early and true component was , and thus in the end we reach the modern 后, where the omission of a tiny stroke effects the transformation. How small the change! How perfect the disguise!

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

STRATIGRAPHIE COMPARÉE ET CHRONOLOGIE DE L'ASIE OCCIDENTALE (IIIe et IVe millénaires). C. F. A. SCHAEFFER. Oxford University Press. 84*s*.

This valuable and lucid volume is at once a monument to its author's scholarship and a signal example of the work done by French archaeologists in many fields. It summarizes the results of the excavation of all important sites in Syria and Palestine and devotes fifty pages to a fascinating account of how archæology developed scientific method in the exploration of Troy. Especially it describes the author's own work at the important site of Ras Shamra where the spade corroborates documentary evidence for an earthquake about 1365 B.C. The author hopes that traces of that earthquake may help towards fixing the chronology of other sites. The book has been published with the assistance of the Griffith Institute.

Far East

BURMESE ECONOMIC LIFE. By J. R. ANDRUS. Stanford: University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1948. pp. xxii + 362, 2 maps. 8½ × 5½. 21*s*.

Dr. Andrus devotes four of his twenty-seven chapters to geography and history, the economic consequences of the Japanese occupation, and the probable future of the Burmese economy. In the remaining chapters most of the material on Imports, Exports, Banking, Labour, and so forth, is taken from official publications, and from pamphlets published during the war by Messrs. Longmans. A chapter on Public Health and Vital Statistics is here in somewhat strange company.

The author's acquaintance with Burma is perhaps not quite so close as the scope of the book would suggest. Ramree Island is twice incorrectly referred to as Kyaukpyu Island; the weavers of Seikkhun and Chiba—both in the Shwebo district of Upper Burma—should certainly be mentioned along with those of Amarapura and Shwedaung on p. 134; the transliteration of the Burmese word for

"sweat" (p. 278) suggests that Dr. Andrus is confusing it with that for "buffalo", and it is not true that the "Sweat Army" was so named to stimulate recruitment to it—a name hardly calculated to attract the Burman! It was not the duty of village Headmen to go round their tracts collecting vital statistics (p. 284); under the Village Act the parents of new-born children were required to report births to the Headman. The references to "irrigation from tidal creeks" (p. 57) and to "the irrigated tracts of . . . Lower Chindwin" district (p. 337) both require a good deal of explanation. Tobacco is a surprising omission from the table of products on p. 347.

Dr. Andrus has assembled much statistical material not previously collected, some of it from publications (in English!) of the Japanese-sponsored Government of Dr. Ba Maw. His study can be read alongside *Modern Burma* by his compatriot, J. L. Christian.

Mr. J. S. Furnivall contributes a foreword interesting for its account of the virtues and failings of British rule in Burma.

G. L. MERRELLS.

THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM OF SOUTH-WEST CHINA. 2 Vols. By JOSEPH F. ROCK. Harvard-Yenching Institute. Monograph Series Volume VIII. Harvard University Press. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege.) 192*s*. 6*d*. net.

This monumental work, the first of a projected series on West China, is the fruit of twelve years spent among the Na-khi people. In these two handsome volumes Dr. Rock deals exhaustively with the history and geography of the Li-chiang, Yung Ning, and Yen Yüan regions. His geographical material consists of the detailed itineraries of several explorations, and adds to the work done by Major Davies and Handel-Mazzetti a mass of botanical and geological data. A particularly valuable aspect of the book is the care with which local names are transliterated and, where possible, given their Tibetan and Chinese equivalents. There are over 250 excellent photographs, so vivid and comprehensive that even the general reader can follow the author's itineraries with enjoyment. The historical sections, based chiefly on local records, are of more specialised interest. The Li-chiang area has for centuries been a pawn in the political game in which the Chinese and the Tibetans were alternately masters, while the latter, together with the predatory Lolo, periodically laid waste the forests and villages and

butchered the peaceful Na-khi. But even in this remote region the larger movements of Chinese history were sometimes felt, in the person of such men as Genghis Khan, Ssŭ-Ma Ch'ien, and the rebel Wu San-kuei. Much has been written on China's relations with her northern and western neighbours, but this is the first time that the south-west frontier has been dealt with so fully.

On the subject of the social organization, religion, and customs of the Na-khi, the author has little to say, though further volumes on these subjects are hinted at. The Na-khi have two written languages, of which the pictographic script is the later; a few examples of this script are reproduced in a translation of a part of a tribal chronicle. Discussion of this very interesting problem, however, is confined to one footnote and a reference to a rather inaccessible article in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society. It is greatly to be hoped that the author will deal with this, as with many other aspects of Na-khi culture, as thoroughly as he has treated of the geographical and historical. There are four good large-scale maps of the region prepared by the United States Army Map Service under the author's direction. A further map of the whole region on a rather smaller scale would have been an additional advantage.

MICHAEL SULLIVAN.

FIDALGOS IN THE FAR EAST—FACT AND FANCY IN THE HISTORY OF MACAO. By C. R. BOXER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, xiii, 297. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, Guilders 12.50.

The word "Macao" may be found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It is thus defined: "A game at cards . . . ; From *Macao*, a Portuguese settlement on the coast of China, noted for gambling." And it is significant that the oldest foreign trading centre in China is now chiefly associated among Europeans with "Fan-tan", the simplest of Chinese gambling games, played with a heap of copper cash, a rice-bowl, and a pair of chopsticks.

Writing nearly 100 years ago, the first *Times* correspondent in China described Macao as "this dwindling dying city". William Hickey, in 1769, had recorded a similar view; and the dwindling process has continued until recent years have seen the death of Macao as a trading centre, except for the local Chinese junk traffic.

First occupied by the Portuguese in 1557, fifty years after the

arrival in India of Vasco da Gama, Macao has always been "noted for gambling". But the gamblers in the old days played for enormous stakes. Huge fortunes were amassed with a rapidity that exceeded the later records of John Company, while bad luck was apt to spell bankruptcy, dishonour, and death.

Professor Boxer's latest book is not a history of the port, but a series of sketches based on Portuguese, Dutch, Japanese, and English records. He tells of the Fidalgos concerned in the rise of Macao to greatness and splendour, and his account makes fascinating reading appealing equally to the general reader and to those whose own experience in the Far East predisposes them to the subject. The author regrets that he is not more conversant with Chinese, but his extensive knowledge of the three other foreign languages concerned has enabled him to draw on obscure accounts beyond the reach of most other chroniclers.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the description of what was known as "The Japan Voyage", the monopoly, bought by the highest bidder, of trading privileges from Goa to Malaya, Canton, Macao, Nagasaki, and back again. The round trip took three years. Typhoons, pirates, the vagaries of Chinese diplomacy, and the hostility of Dutch and Japanese rivals were among the obstacles to be negotiated, but the large sums paid for the monopoly are proof of the prizes to be brought by success.

It is not possible in a short review to do justice to this unusual book, written as it is with a rare knowledge, ease, sympathy, and thoroughness. There is not a dull page, and its excellence is enhanced by attractive production, unfamiliar illustrations, and a good index and glossary.

E. B. HOWELL.

Middle East

BRITAIN AND THE ARAB STATES. By M. V. SETON-WILLIAMS. pp. 330, maps 4. London: Luzac and Co., 1948. 21s.

The sub-title limits the scope to the years 1920–1948. The treatment of the subject is almost entirely political; events happen in a vacuum. No attempt is made to explain the attitude of the Egyptian government by the fact that past premiers have made such high claims for their country that no minister dares to lose face by suggesting that anything less might be acceptable. The book

consists largely of statements by politicians, some of which read oddly now. One contrasts the words of Mr. Bevin, "The Arab League has become a fact and you cannot ignore it," with a sentence in the *New Statesman*, "Even Zionism cannot unite the Arab States." The history is careful and seems to be accurate on the whole. One wonders, however, whether it was worth while to record all the changes of ministry in Egypt. No mention is made of friction between France and Yemen in 1936 over Shaikh Sa'īd and while a letter from Rooseveldt to Ibn Sa'ūd is mentioned, one in the opposite direction is ignored. Miss Seton-Williams has been badly served by her proof readers. To give one example only: in one Egyptian parliament the government had 990 supporters! The transliteration of proper names is erratic and worse; Jehia stands for Yahya, Abd ar Rahmen and Abderraham both stand for Abd ar Rahman, and Madfai and Madafai both represent Midfa'i. Some of the Arabic words are unrecognizable. A long appendix of 74 pages contains important documents and there is a formidable list of authorities.

A. S. TRITTON.

IRAQ; OLD AND NEW. By 'ABD AL-RAZZAQ AL-HASANI. Sidon. pp. 253, maps 2. 1948.

"Fine confused feeding" is suggested by this book; it is not a guide book because it says nothing about the ruins of Babylon, and it is not a statistical account because there are no figures for trade. It starts with a sketch of the land and its history, the races and religions that live there, and matters of general interest like oil and irrigation. Then follows a detailed account of the country arranged according to the political divisions. The historical sketch contains useful summaries of the lesser known periods and more history is scattered through the second half of the book. The writer assumes that his readers know what has happened during the last few years. He cannot leave Hilla without giving the story of Sadaqa ibn Dubais, and Kazimain demands and gets the history of the mosque. General figures for population are given; there are lists of the tribes resident in any area but no indication of their strength; the products of the land are named without any estimate of quantity or value. What is said about trade and manufactures is quite general. Descriptions of buildings are conventional,

expressed in terms of vague praise with no details; the maps are poor. Some of the words used are not to be found in ordinary dictionaries. The author has taken much trouble over this book; parts of it are severely utilitarian and dull and parts are interesting and entertaining.

A. S. TRITTON.

AL-MA'ASSIR; LAND AND SEA TOLL BARRIERS. By MICHAEL AWAD. pp. 91. Baghdad: al-Ma'arif Press, 1948.

The economic history of the caliphate has not yet been written and much investigation of detail is necessary as a preliminary to it. The present study deals with one subject only, barriers to the free passage of men and goods. Those mentioned in books are usually bars to water traffic, bridges of boats, cables, or chains. The author does not distinguish between those meant for the defence of harbours and those intended to facilitate the collection of revenue. Most of the information about toll bars refers to Iraq, while chains for defence were provided in many harbours on the Mediterranean. The author has collected his facts from many and varied sources; a passage in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd (6, 183) has escaped him, it mentions a bar or two bars at Kufa. The only reference to Byzantium is to a defence chain across the Bosphorus. The result of the author's investigation is disappointing but that is not his fault but the fault of the sources. The book ends with an interesting note on unauthorized tolls on the Tigris in modern times which gave rise to a local proverb.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE ANCIENT LIBRARIES OF 'IRAQ. By GURGIS AWAD. pp. 346. Baghdad: al-Ma'arif Press, 1948. 10*s*.

The section on cuneiform libraries will not be of much interest to European readers who can get the information in other places. That on monastic libraries is a convenient summary. The introduction and the Muslim section are of great interest. The introduction deals with the book trade and the accidents to which books are exposed; the section on the trade is a valuable summary with interesting details on the price of books; the accidents were usually fire or flood. Many owners took pride in their collections and were

anxious that they should not be scattered while some had religious scruples and buried their books. The Muslim section is arranged under the following heads: the libraries of caliphs, sultans, institutions, and private persons. The accounts of royal libraries read like extracts from court historians more concerned with glorifying their patrons than with the truth. Many private persons bequeathed their books to mosques or colleges. Books could be borrowed on depositing a pledge; private owners were often generous in lending and one declared that he had never lost a book, although he had never demanded a pledge. Judging by some stories he was fortunate. Some collectors specialized in books by famous calligraphers. It is difficult to know what these libraries contained; sometimes it is stated that there were books on astronomy and mathematics but usually no details are given. Mr. Awad has read widely and judiciously and has produced a useful book. In most cases he quotes the exact words of his authorities. The book is well printed and has full indices; the defects are those of the sources which do not give the information we should like to have.

A. S. TRITTON.

India

PROTO-MUNDA WORDS IN SANSKRIT. By F. B. J. KUIPER. pp. 176. N.V. Noord-hollandsche uitgevers maatschappij. Amsterdam, 1948.

Professor Kuiper here attempts to identify some seventy Sanskrit words, which are not Indo-European in origin, as Munda or Kolarian. Each word is discussed at some length and there follows an excursus on the Proto-Munda change of cerebrals to y, palatals, and sibilants. The result is a quantity of identifications which cannot be ignored by any future student. We may not be able to accept many of them, but others are as good or better than any hitherto proposed.

The phonological method followed is, however, open to objection. The neo-grammarian doctrine of the absolute character of phonetic laws has recently suffered severe shocks, but the hypothesis of free variation suggested by Professor C. C. Berg for Indonesian has been interpreted too liberally by the author, who presents us, for example, with one phoneme comprising the following free variants :—

$$\frac{d/t \sim dh/th \sim r \sim \ j/c, s}{\dot{d}/\dot{t} \sim \dot{d}h/\dot{t}h \sim \dot{r} \sim {}^{*}z/{}^{*}s} \sim y \sim l.$$

We are here in the realm of fantasy. The existence of free variants in Indonesian, Oceanic, and elsewhere does indeed entitle us to assume the possibility in Proto-Munda, but free variants can only be checked with living speakers, and this has not yet been done.

The identifications suggested by Professor Kuiper must be taken as provisional and do not justify any conclusions. Some of the author's conclusions are therefore inacceptable :—

(1) A considerable amount (say 40 per cent) of the MA vocabulary is borrowed from Munda. (2) Wide-branched and, seemingly, native word-families of South Dravidian are of Proto-Munda origin. (3) As the development of Munda has been slower than that of Aryan, the aspect of many modern Munda words does not apparently differ from their Proto-Munda original.

Until Munda phonetics have been thoroughly explored by an expert on the spot, etymological speculations are likely to be a waste of time. Pre-history presumes history and it is just history which is lacking. Of the period of 4,000 years over which the author ranges only 100 years are historical on the Munda side and the records are meagre and often difficult to interpret.

ALFRED MASTER.

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. CLASSICAL PERIOD. General Editor, S. N. DASGUPTA. Contributors to this volume : S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE. University of Calcutta, 1947. Vol. I, pp. cxxix, 833.

This forms a supplement to the two volumes of the English translation of Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta). It had been intended to complete that work with a translation of the third volume, but instead Dr. De and Dr. Dasgupta have produced a new work on the History of Classical Sanskrit Literature which, together with the two volumes of Winternitz, will form a useful handbook for Indian students. This volume covers the field of Kāvya and *Alaṃkāra* ; a second volume is to be published dealing with the literature of the technical sciences, and also some chapters supplementary to the present volume dealing with Historical Kāvyas, the elements of Literature in inscriptions, and Prakrit literature. The section on Kāvya literature is the work of Dr. De ; Dr. Dasgupta has dealt with the history of Alaṃkāra literature and theories, and, in addition, has contributed an

Introduction and Editor's Notes. The latter supplement Dr. De's account; they also occasionally contradict it, and sometimes repeat what has been said before. As they are fairly extensive, we have to some extent two treatises on the same subject, an unusual arrangement, but one which does no harm. The Introduction is devoted to an account of the social, political, and historical background of Sanskrit Literature, and on the whole it is very well done. Both authors show a sound and balanced judgment in dealing with the problems involved. In detail, as might be expected, many things are said which are open to criticism, but the general picture presented is fundamentally sound. The appraisal of the merits and defects of Sanskrit poetry in general is excellent; the characteristics of the different periods are accurately delineated, and the decadent tendencies of the later period are properly investigated and accounted for. It should long serve Indian students as an indispensable guide in their study of Sanskrit literature.

T. BURROW.

THE VEDANTIC BUDDHISM OF THE BUDDHA. A Collection of Historical Texts. Translated from the original Pāli and Edited by J. G. JENNINGS. pp. cxvii, 679. Oxford University Press. London, 1947.

The subject of this work is indicated by the sub-title, rather than by the curiously worded title. It is a collection of the main passages in the Pāli scriptures which contain information about the life of Buddha, the development of his doctrine and the organization of the Saṃgha. Though the emphasis is on biography and history rather than doctrine, the author follows Rhys Davids in emphasizing the rationalistic and non-supernatural side of Buddha's teaching. This can be carried too far; it is not necessary to explain away the term *sagga-* for instance, and to make out that it has any other meaning than the usual one of "heaven". Nor is there any justification for excising passages that refer to transmigration and regarding them as later accretions to the doctrine.

In these exceedingly useful texts we get as near as can be got to the actual facts. What reliance can be placed on specific details it is to a large extent impossible to say, but the general picture is reasonable enough. The middle portion of the book is largely taken

up by Buddha's visits to many places, geographically arranged. It is customary for a sūtra to be preceded by an introduction giving the scene of the address; but it is unlikely that there are actual sermons of Buddha delivered at these places. While the Canon was being gradually compiled, it may be assumed that these detailed geographical notices were introduced for the benefit of the congregations there established. At the same time it is not to be doubted that the Buddha did travel widely in such a way, and talk on these lines. The reader is presented with an account which in general is authentic and instructive but of which most of the details are impossible to confirm. It is useful to have the material collected in so handy a form.

T. BURROW.

KOTA TEXTS. By M. B. EMENEAU. pp. vi, 388, 373, in 4 parts. University of California Press, Berkely and Los Angeles, 1944–6. [*University of California Publications in Linguistics.*]

The study of the Dravidian languages has long been hampered by the paucity of published material dealing with the smaller non-literary languages. To remedy this, Professor Emeneau spent three years (1935–8) in South India, collecting material from a variety of little-known languages. The main centre of his activities was the Nilgiri hills, a region long familiar to anthropologists, but almost completely neglected by linguists. *Kota Texts* is the first major publication presenting to the world the results of Professor Emeneau's investigations. It is impossible to speak too highly of the work. To those who have had to put up with scanty vocabularies and brief inaccurate texts of the minor Dravidian languages, the copiousness and accuracy of this collection of texts is gratifying indeed. The texts are accompanied by a literal English translation, and preceded by a short grammatical sketch. With these aids, anyone acquainted with the South Dravidian languages can soon acquire facility in reading the texts. These consist mainly of folk-tales, excellently told, and providing, in addition to their linguistic value, useful material for students of anthropology. For folklorists the value of the book is enhanced by an index of motives provided by Dr. Stith Thompson.

The author promises a full grammar and vocabulary of the language with further linguistic material. The language is an

independent member of the South Dravidian family and, as such, not of minor importance, but one to be studied side by side with Tamil, Kanarese, etc. Grammatically and syntactically it has all the familiar Dravidian features; it is distinguished from usual languages by an extreme tendency to shorten words by the omission of unaccented vowels, a tendency which frequently results in words ending with formidable consonant groups. The vocabulary is in the main entirely Dravidian, the number of Indo-Aryan loanwords being exceedingly small. Nor does it seem to any great extent to have borrowed material from the major Dravidian languages which neighbour it. This is natural in view of the comparative isolation in which the inhabitants of the plateau live, and also in view of the social segregation about which information is given in the introduction. It will only be possible fully to appreciate the position of Kota within the South Dravidian group when equally full and satisfactory information is available about the neighbouring minor languages, particularly Toda. This information Professor Emeneau was able to gather at the same time, and it is to be hoped that circumstances will be favourable to its speedy publication.

T. BURROW.

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA. By MAHĀMAHAPĀDHYĀYA PANDURANG VAMAN KANE. Vol. III, pp. xlv, 1088. Poona, 1946.

This is the third volume of Dr. Kane's monumental treatise on Hindu Religious and Civil Law. The first volume (1930) contained an exhaustive literary history of Sanskrit texts and authors dealing with the subject. The second volume (1941), published in two parts, and equivalent to two large volumes, dealt mainly with the religious side of Dharma. The present volume is devoted to civil law and administration. In the first part of the work status of the king, the nature of sovereignty, and the detailed methods of government are exhaustively discussed. This is followed by a thorough examination of civil law in all its aspects, the laws of inheritance, and so forth. The statements in the text are backed by ample quotations from the relevant literature. Inscriptions, a most valuable additional source of information, are drawn on regularly, and the author has thoroughly mastered and assimilated the vast amount of material with which he has to deal. Interesting is the chapter on *Kalivarjya*, dealing with those innovations which have crept in in medieval

times, in spite of the authority of the earlier treatises. The author's own discussions of the various subjects and his conclusions are sensible and temperate, and he is swayed neither by exaggerated nationalism nor undue deference to the European outlook. The work will long remain of fundamental importance to all students of Indian law, sociology, and allied subjects. Its usefulness is enhanced by a valuable index, and also by a useful list of technical administrative terms to be found in inscriptions.

T. BURROW.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. SOUTH INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS (TEXTS). Vol. X. TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Edited by KALAPRAPURNA J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L., with two appendices by N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A. [With preface by B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist.] pp. 7, 409, lxiii. The Manager of Publications: Delhi, Madras printed, 1948. Fol.

This volume is a posthumous product, for unhappily Mr. Ramayya Pantulu died before it was passed through the press. The inscriptions comprised in it number 781, and were copied between 1904 and 1928 inclusive. They cover a long period of time, from the seventh to the seventeenth century. One only, and that a tiny fragment, belongs to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty; the Eastern Calukyas are represented by 21 records, the Western Calukyas by 5, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by 2, the Imperial Cōḷas by 184, the Kākatīyas by 310, the Reḍḍis by 42, the Cōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu by 28, the Vaidumbas by 22, the Cindas of Bastar by 8, the Eastern Gaṅgas by 77, the Gajapatis by 15, the Quṭbshāhīs of Golconda by 29, and the Mughals of Delhi by 10, while 27 others, scheduled as "Miscellaneous", are undated. The inscriptions are of very various importance, ranging from one that is an utter blank (No. 51, of which not a single letter seems to be legible) to a fair number of records that are really valuable for the political and economic history of Telingana, for example, Nos. 199–200 (of the Kōṭas), 254, 334, 395, 442, and 465 (Kākatīyas), 554 and 559 (Reḍḍis), 732 (Gajapatis), and 753 (a revenue-settlement of a village by a Muslim general under Muḥammad Pādshāh, son of Ibrāhīm Pādshāh of Golconda in Śaka 1522). Moreover, among the innumerable small-beer chronicles of the temples recording donations of

sheep, cows, goats, lands, and occasionally also dancing women we find now and then details of some interest, such as the mention of Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi (i.e. Trilōcana Pallava) as ancestor of one of the pious donors (Nos. 278 and 284). It is therefore greatly to be regretted that this volume, like others of recent date in the series, is without any attempt at an index, and the summaries prefixed to the inscriptions are provokingly exiguous. There should have been full indexes of (*a*) all proper names, and (*b*) all technical terms, and to every record printed a fairly full analysis of its contents should have been prefixed. As it is, the scholar in search of some point may have to struggle through hundreds of pages, and perhaps struggle in vain. Thus the value of the book is well-nigh lost.

A word of recognition is due to Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao for his appendices, of which the first gives the equivalent in A.D. of the dated records published here, and the second presents corrigenda to the published text of some 150 of them.

L. D. BARNETT.

TOLKAPPIAM—PORULATIKARAM, Vol. I, Parts I and II. Translated into English by E. S. VARADARAJA IYER, B.A. 8½ × 5½, pp. xvii + 584. Annamalai University, 1948.

Four of the nine chapters of Poruḷatikāram are here presented with Naccinarkkiniyar's commentary, and are to be followed by the other five chapters with Pērāsiriyar's commentary. This, with the two previous books translated by P. S. S. Sastri (*JRAS.*, 1933, p. 161), will " throw open the book of Tolkāppiam to persons who cannot read it in the original ". Those who can will prefer to read it in an edition such as that of Vyapuri Pillai and Sōmasundaram Pillai (Sādhu Press, Madras); for the present work is not well planned or printed, and falls short of what one expects in a university publication. One of the earliest editors of Tolkāppiam, Water Joyes (1858), provided not a translation of the work, but only a well printed text with the headings of the chapters rendered into English. It was not till 1885 that Damōdaram Pillai's edition of Poruḷatikāram with Naccinarkkiniyar's commentary appeared. In the present work Akathiṇai Iyal and Kaḷaviyal are treated together in great detail in Part I and Karpiyal and Poruḷiyal in Part II in lesser detail. Iḷampūraṇar is frequently quoted. The General Editor

regrets that use was not made of the commentary of Bharatiar, a former professor of Tamil of the university. The *sūtras* are transliterated throughout, the 141 *sūtras* of Part I being given together at the beginning of Part II. It is a pity that a work on which so much labour was expended was not thoroughly revised before publication.

M. S. H. THOMPSON.

ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ. With the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya. Edited by N. S. SONTAKKE and C. G. KASHIKAR. Vol. IV (Maṇḍalas IX–X). Poona (*Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala*), 1946. pp. 102, 1001.

The present volume brings to a conclusion the useful labours of the *Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala* in bringing out a complete critical edition of the *Ṛgveda* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. As the edition of Max Müller has long been unavailable, the present publication is indispensable to all serious Sanskrit scholars. It is well printed and carefully produced, being reasonably free of misprints. Fresh manuscript material has been examined by the editors, and it has been possible on occasion to improve on Max Müller's text of the commentary. Sources of the quotations in the commentary are usually provided, though it has not been possible to trace every one to its source. At the end of the volume a complete collection of *khilas* is provided, with an introduction dealing with them by Mr. Kashikar. The editors are to be congratulated on the successful termination of their labours on this valuable and indispensable publication.

T. BURROW.

INDIA IN KĀLIDĀSA. By BHAGWAT SARAN UPADHYAYA. pp. xvi, 385. Allahabad, 1947. Rs. 25.

This is a systematic exposition of the factual information to be derived from the works of Kālidāsa, grouped under the headings of geographical data, polity, social life, fine arts, economic life, education, religion and philosophy. As a study of a poet, it makes somewhat dull reading, but it will be a useful work of reference. Misprints are rather numerous, and there are occasional surprises, such as the inclusion of the mythical Rāhu

alongside the real planets Budha and Bṛhaspati; and it seems scarcely an adequate description of the *Raghuvaṃśa* to say that "the poet has compressed the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* within the scope of nineteen cantos, adding here and there his own contribution to the theme".

J. Brough.

Hindu Kinship. By K. M. Kapadia. pp. xvi, 320, xl. Bombay, 1947. Rs. 15.

The author has undertaken to treat in detail all the various aspects of law and custom relating to the family, from the period of the *sūtras* down to the great legal digests. Naturally, with a subject of such dimensions, it is not to be expected that every topic should be treated exhaustively; but within the limits of his space the author has provided a very useful general account, which is well provided with references to the texts. The subjects treated are: the ancestral cult and the *śrāddha*; marriage and exogamy; the household; adoption; inheritance; liability for debts; birth and death impurities, and the theory of the organization of kinship

There is, of course, ample scope for disagreement in points of detail. For example, on p. 19, Dr. Kapadia quotes *Varāha Śrauta Sūtra*, I, 2, 3, 21–2, that where the grandfather is alive, *pitur ekaḥ piṇḍaḥ : lepaḥ pitre*. To this he objects on the ground of the apparent change in the grammatical construction, and because the remnant (*lepa*) is normally reserved for the ancestors beyond the great-grandfather. He therefore accepts the variant *lopaḥ pitre*, translating "dropping (of piṇḍa) for the father". This would then be an alternative to the single *piṇḍa* to the father. But the reading *lopaḥ* is quite indefensible grammatically, and the original text makes excellent sense: not only is one *piṇḍa* offered to the father, but the *lepa* is for the father as well, for the well-known reason that it is not permissible to "pass over" the living.

On p. 77, the Śāṇḍilyas are contrasted with the Kāśyapas as a distinct *gotra*, although they are in fact merely a subdivision of the Kāśyapas; and the suggestion on p. 81 that the Brahmans adopted exogamy from the Dravidians has nothing in its favour. Points such as these enjoin caution on the reader.

J. Brough.

JOHN COMPANY AT WORK. By H. FURBER. 9 × 5½, pp. xi + 407. Harvard University Press. (London: Cumberlege.) 1948. 32*s.* 6*d.*

THE DUTCH IN BENGAL AND BIHAR, 1740–1835. By KALIKINKAR DATTA. 7½ × 5, pp. ii + 273. University of Patna, 1948.

Professor Furber needs no introduction to readers acquainted with his *Life of Henry Dundas*. His latest publication which deals with European expansion in India between 1785 and 1800 forms a useful companion to Professor Philip's East India Company, 1784–1834. We therefore welcome this well written, verifiably documented, and impartial study. In fact, there is no book, to the reviewer's knowledge, which provides us with so detailed an account of the position of the French and Dutch in India from the close of Warren Hastings' administration to the end of the century. This is no history of military conquests and of relations with the country powers but is an account of European trading ventures based on bills of exchange, ledgers, and other commercial documents. The appendix on the stewardship of the English Company's servants breaks fresh ground.

Nevertheless, this volume has its limitations for it is impossible for any historian to consult all the manuscript authorities on the period. To give but one example: it would require about ten years to make an intensive study of the Hastings papers alone. It is unfortunate that an inaccurate Dutch map has been used to illustrate the position in India on the departure of Warren Hastings. The north-west frontier of the Company's possessions in 1785 should have been drawn so as to include Chait Singh's *zamindari* of Benares and Ghazipur which had been ceded to the English by the Treaty of Faizabad in 1775. The date of the Treaty of Mangalore, to which reference is made on p. 246, should be 1784. It would also be interesting to ascertain by what means the author, on p. 239, computes the subsidy paid to the Company by the ruler of Oudh as 118 lakhs of rupees. But these are minor blemishes and Professor Furbers' book can be safely recommended to students of Indian history.

Professor Datta's volume provides us with a useful summary of Dutch enterprise in India from the middle of the eighteenth century to the final cession of the Dutch possessions to the English in 1824. It contains an important chapter on Anglo-Dutch relations in the

time of Warren Hastings which is based on the Bengal Secret Consultations and on translations of Dutch documents in the National Archives of India.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

Art & Archæology

SELECTED CHINESE ANTIQUITIES FROM THE COLLECTION OF GUSTAF ADOLF, CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN. Edited by NILS PALMGREN. 12 × 9, pp. XV + 146, pls. 110 (including 14 coloured), figs 322, map 1. Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts Förlag, 1948.

H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden started his collection in 1907 with a porcelain dish of the Ch'ien-lung period. Soon the earlier ceramics were preferred, and the collection gained in scope through the assiduous help and pioneer explorations of Mr. Orvar Karlbeck, long resident in China. Many additions resulted from the journey of the Crown Prince and Crown Princess to the Far East in the autumn of 1926, and again from Dr. Palmgren's visit eight years later. Now the collection numbers about 1,600 pieces, ranging from the second millennium B.C. to the end of the eighteenth century, and exemplifying almost every medium of Chinese art and craftsmanship.

In this splendid volume somewhat more than a quarter of the collection is described and illustrated, the choice having been made jointly by the Crown Prince and the editor. The diversity and exceptionally high archæological and æsthetic value of its contents baffle any attempt to do it full justice within the compass of a brief review. The plates provide, when need be, more than one photographic view of an object, and numerous drawings in the text give satisfying demonstrations of detail. Four reproductions at the beginning of this issue of the *Journal* display the excellent quality of the plates, and here are two of the drawings to serve as specimens both of Mr. Sven Ekblom's expert draughtsmanship and of a specially remarkable group in the collection.

The numerous and varied belt or dress hooks, evidently picked with critical care, present a microcosm of inventiveness and humour. Fig. 134 (about actual size), a tiger and snake medley, by its likeness to nomad design recalls that the Chinese adopted these hooks,

among other articles of attire suited to horse-riding, from their northern foes when they decided to fight them mounted. Chinese in spirit is Fig. 135 (about two-thirds actual size), also in bronze, but inlaid with silver. On the bird form is superimposed the familiar "*t'ao t'ieh* mask", still flourishing little changed at the end of the Chou period.

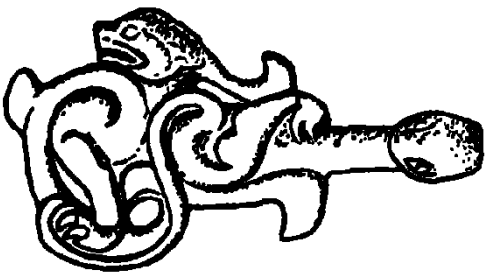


Fig. 134

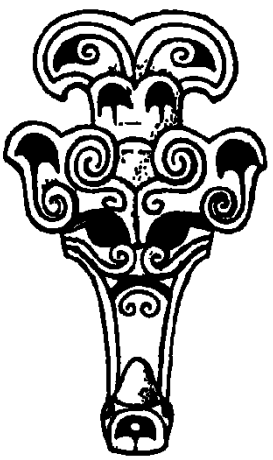


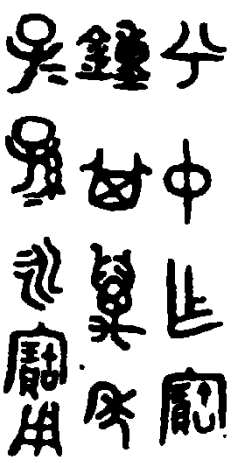
Fig. 135

Another category of small bronzes, in which the collection is exceedingly rich, is that of the mirrors, though only thirty-two are published—all chosen as representatives of early and leading types.

Among the larger bronzes are some notable ritual vessels of the First Phase, one of which is shown here on Plate IX. The bell on Plate X claims special attention as a problem piece. Its inscription, unusually placed inside the barrel, is copied here half-size from an inked-squeeze kindly supplied by Mr. Karlbeck. The translation runs: "Hsi Chung made this precious bell. May his descendants for a myriad years constantly treasure and use it." Since the same maker's name and the same style of script appear on certain bells

unearthed in 1815, Professor Karlgren associates this bell with them. From the scanty data published, a photograph of one bell and inked-squeezes of inscriptions on six bells, the find seems to have comprised a gradated set of the *chung* 鐘 class, clapperless bells for hanging in series on a frame to provide a chime. Mouth downwards, each hung obliquely, its point of suspension being a loop on the shank near its base. The name *chung* (written 鐘) is inscribed on every bell of the 1815 finds. It is a class known to have come into use in the Second Phase. The bell under discussion belongs to a markedly different class. For instance, a contrasting feature is that its mouth normally is uppermost, as the position of the mask, present here and on many earlier examples, indicates. This class, generally regarded as confined to the First Phase, has been termed *chêng* 鉦 since Sung times. But that may not have been its original name. Some Third Phase bells of quite a different kind have *chêng* inscribed on them. Their barrels are narrower, their shanks closed and they have clappers or provision for clappers. In short, they are hand-bells. Some of the earlier so-called *chêng* are too bulky for use as hand-bells. The Crown Prince's bell, in fact, weighs over 20 lb. Its general shape is like that of the First Phase bells commonly called *chêng*. Details of usage for this class are uncertain, but the fact that they have been found in gradated sets of three suggests something like the later chimes.

If the bell under discussion is contemporary with the 1815 find, we have side by side what may be examples of two distinct stages in the evolution of the chime. It cannot be mere chance, however, that the inscription on the Crown Prince's bell closely resembles a frequently published one on a set of food-vessels of the *kuei* 簋 class, the only difference being that here the character 鐘 for "bell" occupies the place of *kuei* on the others. The design of these food-vessels, by the way, accords with "Middle-Chou" or Second Phase classification (*v.* 陶齋吉金續錄, i, 34).



Of moment to students of the bronzes is the famous inscription of 107 characters on the *Ta Kuei* 大簋 cover (Pl. 106). It throws light on ancient equity and ceremonial, as set forth in Maspero's lengthy study of it in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, iii (1934–5),

298, 299. Another such cover is known, its inscription differing but slightly. Here is the one that formerly (complete with body) was in the Manchu imperial collection and then was part of the Liu collection in Shanghai.

If space permitted, the admirable jades, the ceramics, and other objects would claim long and appreciative study. This volume must always remain a standard work of reference.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

Miscellaneous

JOEL STUDIES. By A. S. KAPELRUD. Uppsala: Universitets Årsskrift, 1948: 4. Pp. viii, 211.

The author's thesis is that Joel was a temple-prophet and the originator of the sayings attributed to him in the book that bears his name, but not the author of the actual book; for the sayings were handed down by word of mouth for several generations before being written down. Not only the first two but also the second and third chapters contain the substance of Joel's words, but these last have had more traditional material " tacked on to them " than the former, though there is no decisive difference between the two parts of the book. The author gives a clear picture of Joel's teaching; and, if due weight is attached by him to the description of the locusts, it seems " beyond question that it must have had a historic background." The fact that descriptions of locusts occur in liturgies of Tammuz is here not in point. They are a warning of what is to come and, indeed, is imminent, Yahweh's Day, and this is the core of the prophet's message. It is also beyond doubt that the book derives its characteristics from ancient, cultural traditions, as indeed Gunkel has already shown; further, Joel must have received some of his impressions from other prophets, notably Jeremiah and perhaps also Amos.

The author is emphatic that nothing in the book proves a post-exilic date, maintaining that Joel stands in close relationship to Zephaniah in regard to the conception clustering round Yahweh's Day. Again, Joel's attitude to the priests, while not that of Ezekiel, is equally not that of Isaiah; it comes closer to that of Jeremiah. Both are prophets of repentance rather than of judgment, and their work is largely based on a liturgy of penance. For this reason Joel

asks the priests to assemble the people to do penance, which consisted not only of returning to Yahweh with a penitent heart but also of performing certain external rites of lamentation and prayer. The reason why the king is not mentioned is not that there is none, but that Joel has no need to refer to him; but, as the writer admits, the *argumentum e silentio* is weak. All this in his opinion indicates a date *c.* 600 B.C., even though the "prophecies" may not have been written down till the fourth or even the third century B.C.

These studies take the form of a running commentary on every verse of the four chapters which brings out all the points in their author's argument. He is well read in the literature both in philology and also in history and theology and has missed little; but his discussion on אבל "was dry" and שמם = אשם "was desolate" may be reinforced by reference to the reviewer's discussion of these words (s. *Gaster Anniversary Volume* [1936], 73–8). His method, however, makes it difficult to see the wood for the trees, although the summary "Conclusions" at the end go far towards clarifying what he is seeking to prove. He rightly argues that a word or custom may have existed long before its first occurrence in literature, but he seems not always to remember that it may linger equally long after a last recorded occurrence, so that arguments of this type are apt to cut both ways. This fact tells against Dulim's late date; but it also has some weight against the author's arguments for an early date. While, therefore, he has done useful service by the minute examination to which he has subjected the prophecies of Joel and by thus reminding us that their purpose and date are not yet a closed question, we may still ask whether he has proved his case beyond shadow of doubt.

G. R. Driver.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 12th May, 1949, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Scarbrough, the President, in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Society was laid before it.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, 1948–49

One Honorary Member, Professor Sten Konow, died during the year. M. Philippe Stern was elected to fill the vacancy.

Five Members died :—

Rev. H. C. Gleave, Lt.-Col. W. Vost, Lt. J. St. M. Ramsden, Messrs. N. G. Cholmeley, and W. A. Graham.

Six resigned :—

Professor H. Prasad Shastri ; Messrs. J. Aquilina, A. E. Barfoot, R. J. Charleston, L. Lockhart, V. G. Paranjpe.

Fifty-nine were elected Members :—

Professors J. Garstang and Fu Mao-chi ; Drs. Ibrahim Amim, F. Baer, M. Falk, C. K. Gairola, H. Goetz, K. A. Haye, O. Szemerény, P. Wittek ; F/Lt. L. V. Chetty ; Captain P. Pring ; Rev. J. Kellas ; Messrs. D. S. Agarwala, M. R. Baig, D. R. Shackleton Bailey, B. Bain, A. L. Basham, N. G. Basu, C. F. Beckingham, G. Bennett, J. J. Boeles, G. R. Banerjee, K. Bonerjee, J. G. Burton-Page, I. Farazmand, Abdu's-Sattar Fawzi, H. L. Garg, M. C. Gillett, Nasir Hari, J. M. B. Jones, S. K. Kapur, A. M. Kaye, B. Klein, D. M. Lang, W. O. Law, S. Majumdar, S. Milind, L. L. Moore, P. N. E. Parveze, B. S. Ramdas, P. W. Samson, M. V. Rama Sarma, J. Schacht, Abulais Siddiqi, Ganda Singh, S. P. Singh, A. G. Spence, N. Stewart, H. D. Talbot, Abdullah el-Tayib, E. P. Torrey, M. C. Uluçay, T. Vimalananda, W. S. Walker, A T. Wightman, D. C. Yeoman ; Misses E. Clements and M. V. Waterhouse.

Lectures.—Mr. S. Howard Hansford lectured on " Jade ", Mr. A. Houghton Brodrick on " Origins of Pictorial Art ", Mr. Christmas Humphreys on " A recent Tour in the Buddhist East ", Mr. Mas'ud Farżad on " The Divan of Hafiz ", Professor C. R. Boxer on " The Mandarin of Chinsurah ", His Excellency Mom Rajawongsee Seni Pramoj on " Life in Siam To-day ", Mr. A. G. Morkill on " China : some Impressions of a Recent Visit ", and Dr. Mehdi Bahrami on " Some Excavations in Khorasan ".

Oriental Congress in Paris.—The Society was represented by Professor H. A. R. Gibb, Drs. H. G. Quaritch Wales and A. Waley and Mr. S. H. Hansford.

Universities Prize Essay.—The subjects set were Prester John or The Rise and Fall of Maratha Power. There were four candidates. The prizewinner was Mr. N. S. Adams, St. John's College, Cambridge.

Publications.—Śiva-Ñāna-Bōdham, a manual of Saiva religious doctrine translated by the late Gordon Matthews, M.A., B.Litt., was published as Vol. XXIV in the James G. Forlong series.

Gifts.—The Society is greatly indebted to Dr. Bimala Churn Law for his framed portrait in oils, and to Miss Irene Chambers for prints and drawings.

Grants.—The Government of Pakistan has generously promised an annual grant of £50. The Government of India gave £200 for 1948.

Officers and Members of Council.—The Council recommend election of the following: as President, Sir Richard Winstedt; as Hon. Officers, Dr. L. D. Barnett, Librarian, C. C. Brown, Esq., Treasurer, E. B. Howell, Esq., Secretary; as Ordinary Members of Council, Professors J. Brough, G. R. Driver, and Dr. A. F. M. K. Rahman.

The Council recommends as Hon. Auditor, Mr. V. Rienaecker, and as Professional Auditors Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co.

The Society is again indebted to Mr. D. H. Bramall, M.B.E., T.D., of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., its Honorary Solicitor.

The President was glad to see the number of new members steadily increasing, and especially to note no fall in the proportion of Asian members. Thirty or forty members had signed covenants to pay subscriptions for seven years, with the consequent allowance to the Society by the Commissioners of Income Tax. More members should be urged to execute these covenants, which entailed for them no liability.

The Library was being increasingly used by the public, especially by younger scholars. Although the Society lacked funds for purchases, very many oriental scholars were again sending books for review in the *Journal*. To make the Library still more useful Sir Richard Winstedt had arranged the books according to subject and had made the necessary changes in the Catalogue. It was hoped to prepare a subject catalogue. The *Journal's* circulation was increasing so that 1,200 instead of 1,000 copies were now printed. There had been a large demand for the war years' numbers from foreign societies, which had sent their own back numbers, so that the

Society was one of the few possessors of complete sets of those learned journals. The *Journal* was a real link between European and Oriental scholars.

Dr. B. C. Law, who gave £1,400 to furnish the Library, had made a further gift of his portrait to adorn the wall of one of the rooms named after him.

As ever, the main burden of administration had fallen on Mrs. Davis, whose unremitting and cheerful labour kept the Society together. The Council recognized that more efficient help was needed to assist her. Miss Fell, as Assistant Librarian, had rapidly acquired the skill and experience to deal with constant and varied demands.

They all regretted that the demands of public service compelled Mr. Lindsay to lay down the office of Honorary Treasurer, after six years made onerous by the Society's sale of its old lease and acquisition of new premises. A great debt of thanks was due to him.

The Society had survived the Great War and was making a distinguished contribution to Oriental learning at a time of profound political changes in the East.

The President concluded by expressing satisfaction that his successor was to be Sir Richard Winstedt, to whom the Society owed so much. They wished him a speedy recovery from his accident.

The Honorary Treasurer (Mr. Lindsay) thanked the President for his remarks. He said the accounts for 1948 still contained items due to the removal, the receipt of £600 from the Ministry of Works and the expenditure of £689 3*s*. 7*d*. on Repairs. After investing a further £1,000, we closed with a balance of £850, against £1,683 in 1947. Owing to repayment by the Inland Revenue of £80 due on covenanted subscriptions, subscriptions had increased by £30. Covenanted subscriptions should be a growing source of revenue. Grants totalled £483 and rents £991. Orders for the *Journals* published during the war had more than doubled the subscriptions for it. Reinvestment of capital should raise 1948's dividends of £225 to £400 next year. After long negotiations Marylebone Council had agreed that the Society was liable for rates only on its two flats. The Inland Revenue had agreed that we were liable for tax only on the rent of our house, and that it can be deducted from that rent so that, in effect, we pay full rent but no land tax. Extra help for the Office and Library increased salaries by £300. The cost of three *Journals* was defrayed, instead of the usual two. A larger and better

paid staff, a *Journal* of pre-war size, and funds for the Library were all crying needs that called for an increased income.

In moving the adoption of the Report Dr. Quaritch Wales said how much they regretted that Lord Scarbrough must relinquish office, but they were sure that he would continue his interest in the Society's activities. This year had marked the real settling down to work in the Society's new home; for only in recent months had the rearrangement of the library in its spacious new quarters been completed. This fine library was their chief instrument for the original research that was their main aim, and it was a privilege that they could now work with it accessible as never before—and with the peace of mind that came from knowing that the Society's finances, at least as regards essentials, were in a satisfactory condition. For all this they had to thank primarily Sir Richard Winstedt, who gave so much time from his own studies that the work of others might be facilitated through the smooth running of the Society. In this endeavour he was nobly seconded by Mrs. Davis and the other members of the staff, to whom they all wished to express their appreciation. Dr. Quaritch Wales called attention to the fact that India and Pakistan, though perfectly free to do as they wished, had continued their grants. He thought this showed that these two great countries appreciated all that generations of British Orientalists had done in making known the civilizations of the sub-continent, and it seemed to indicate desire for continued co-operation with the Society. This sort of bond, he believed, would make the new conception of the Commonwealth a continuing power for peaceful progress. The year had also seen a great international Congress of Orientalists at Paris, at which he had the honour of being one of the Society's delegates. It had been a success, both as regards the splendid public receptions and the opportunities to see the wonderful Paris museums again, and also in the detailed work of the various sections. But perhaps most important were the informal discussions and the reviving of personal friendships. Any year must be a memorable one in which the Society was able to participate in such a Congress, which was invaluable both for the advancement of studies and as a contribution to international understanding.

In seconding the motion of Dr. Quaritch Wales, Sir John Cumming said that, in view of the comprehensive remarks of the President and the details given by the Hon. Treasurer, he would confine himself to a few personal remarks.

The Society was most grateful for the services performed by Lord Scarbrough during the past three years. The Members present would have learnt with much regret the news of the illness of Sir Richard Winstedt, and wish him a speedy recovery.

Mr. Lindsay had done splendid work during six years of office. As a brother officer, an old friend, and an associate at the School of Oriental Studies, he would like to add his tribute to those already paid to him. The addition to the Council of three such distinguished scholars as Professor Brough, Professor Driver, and Dr. Rahman was a matter for gratification. Mrs. Davis had deserved in full measure the encomiums expressed on her devoted work.

Mr. Oldham said he would like to express what he thought must be the feeling of all present, a sense of regret that Sir Richard Winstedt should have been prevented from attending. They sympathized with him and hoped for his speedy recovery. His election to be President once more was a recognition not only of his very important contributions to our knowledge of the history, literature, and antiquities of Malaya, but also of outstanding services rendered to the Society during the difficult period of the war. Many had witnessed his indefatigable energy in laying out the new premises, and rearranging the Library, in which he was so ably and ever cheerfully seconded by our competent Secretary-Librarian. Sir Richard, with characteristic selflessness might perhaps look upon his election as an honour to the Malayan Civil Service, of which he was such a distinguished member. He was the first member of that service to hold the office; and the speaker felt that Sir Richard would also think of it as a belated tribute to the memory of one whose work seems to have inspired him, that great man, Sir Stamford Raffles. They possessed his Malay and Javanese MSS. but Sir Stamford never held office in the Society, though he founded and became the first President of the Zoological Society.

PRESENTATION OF THE PRIZE FOR THE UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY

9th June, 1949

In presenting this prize, the Director (Professor R. L. Turner) regretted that illness still prevented the President, Sir Richard Winstedt, from being present. For to mark the importance which the Society attached to the Universities Prize Essay it had always been the practice for the President in person to present it to the successful Prizeman.

The main purpose behind the foundation of the Prize was to stimulate interest among the younger generation in Oriental studies. It might not be inappropriate to recall that their last President, the Earl of Scarbrough, was one of the earlier winners of the Prize. It was not perhaps only coincidence that Roger Lumley, as he then was, afterwards served India as Governor of Bombay, and later as Under-Secretary of State for India. What, however, was of more immediate import in connection with this Prize and its purpose was that the Report of the Commission presided over by the Earl of Scarbrough and its implementation by His Majesty's Government had provided a hitherto unparalleled opportunity for the pursuit of Oriental learning in our Universities. They might, with reason, hope that in future the winning of the prize would often be the first step in a career whose devotion to Oriental scholarship had been made possible by the Scarbrough Report.

In the course of his essay Mr. Adams emphasized a number of points, not without significance for an India in whose history the Maratha nation played a notable role and which has now won the position of an independent member of the Commonwealth. Mr. Adams had pointed out that the population of Maharashtra, possessing the racial characteristics of both the North and the South, had a stability and an independence of character which, *inter alia*, resisted caste divisions. He maintained that the rise of Maratha power was not originally a frank exploitation for the benefit of a handful of powerful chieftains, as had been alleged. Though in the exercise of their power they did not always refrain from plundering their opponents—one thought of the connotations of the word Piṇḍārī—their very success showed that the rise of the Maratha nation had its roots in something vastly deeper and more noble than the lust for plunder.

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Subscriptions—		
Fellows	412 13 0	
Non-Resident Members	339 0 0	
Student and Miscellaneous	11 17 3	
Non-Resident Compounders	33 0 0	
Income Tax refund on subscriptions under Deed of Covenant 1945/46	80 2 0	876 12 3
Grants—		
British Academy	200 0 0	
Government of Hong Kong	5 0 0	
Government of Singapore, 1947–48	28 0 0	
Government of India	200 0 0	
Government of Pakistan	50 0 0	483 0 0
Rents Received		991 8 9
Journal Account—		
Subscriptions	663 5 1	
Additional copies and offprints sold	108 19 2	772 4 3
Interest on Investments		238 11 3
Sale of Catalogue		12 18 3
Commission on Sale of Forlong Fund Books, 1947		8 7 0
Royalties		74 17 10
Ministry of Works Compensation		600 0 0
Sale of Duplicate Books		245 17 0
Sundry Receipts		3 7 8
Investments—		
Sale of £4,365 12*s.* 9*d.* 2½% National War Bonds	4,455 4 5	
Sale of £4,908 16*s.* 7*d.* 1½% Exchequer Bonds	4,973 15 5	
Repayment of £2,500 2½% Defence Bonds	2,500 0 0	11,928 19 10
Balance at 31st December, 1947		1,683 8 4
		£17,919 12 5

General Account Investments

£777 1*s.* 1*d.* 4% Funding Loan 1960–90.
£2,396 5*s.* 3*d.* 3% Funding Loan 1959–69.
£4,453 17*s.* 4*d.* 3% British Transport Guaranteed Stock.
£5,000 3% British Electricity Stock.

Compounded Subscriptions Account Investment

£998 11*s.* 3% British Transport 1978–88.

Note:—

At the end of the year the sum of £759 4*s.* 8*d.* was outstanding as a liability to be transferred to a separate compounded subscriptions account.

PAYMENTS FOR 1948

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House Account—		
Rent (Schedule A Tax £157 10s. deducted)	192 10 0	
Rates	477 9 0	
Gas and Light	66 11 10	
Coal and Coke	40 6 3	
Telephone	15 10 9	
Cleaning	5 19 10	
Insurance	82 0 6	
Repairs and Renewals	689 3 7	1,569 11 9
Investments—		
Purchase of £4,453 17s. 4d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968/73	4,437 15 4	
Purchase of £5,000 British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock	4,991 4 6	
Purchase of £2,396 5s. 3d. 3% Funding Stock 1959–69	2,500 0 0	
Purchase of £998 11s. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978–88	1,000 0 0	12,928 19 10
Leasehold Redemption Fund		30 11 0
Salaries and Wages		1,320 10 6
Printing and Stationery		46 16 6
Journal Account—		
Printing	744 8 10	
Postage	27 0 0	771 8 10
Library Expenditure		17 1 9
General Postage		39 2 11
Sundry Expenses—		
Teas	66 10 3	
Lectures	25 9 0	
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	26 4 8	
Fee for Audit	5 5 0	
General	192 10 6	315 19 5
Catalogue Binding		28 15 0
Balance on 31st December, 1948 —		
On Current Account	847 2 8	
Cash in hand	3 6 8	
Cash in Post Office Savings Bank	5 7	850 14 11
		£17,919 12 5

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described and hereby certify the said Abstract to be in accordance therewith.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
J. V. MILLS, Auditor for the Society.

4th October, 1949.

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1948

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/48	1,106 10 8	Balance represented by £1,026 5s. 5d. 3½% War Stock	1,138 10 3	
Transfer from General Account	30 11 0	Cash at Bank	38 16 4	1,177 8 7
Dividends to be Re-invested	38 7 4			
	£1,177 8 7			£1,177 8 7

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1948

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts		Payments		
Balance, 1/1/48	411 8 2	Rental of Type	3 3 0	
Sales	75 1 8	Binding 100 Vols. XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, 64 Vol. XIV, 103 Vol. XV	45 9 0	
Interest on Deposit	6 0	Sundries	7 9	
		31/12/48 Balance carried to Summary	437 15 8	
	£486 15 5			£486 15 5

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

Balance, 1/1/48	221 10 4	Binding 114 Vol. XXII.	5 14 0	
Sales	36 16 11	Sundries	1 11 6	
		31/12/48 Balance carried to Summary	251 1 9	
	£258 7 3			£258 7 3

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1948

Oriental Translation Fund	437 15 8	Cash at Bank—		
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund	251 1 9	On Current Account	628 17 5	
		On Deposit Account	60 0 0	688 17 5
	£688 17 5			£688 17 5

TRUST FUNDS, 1948

Prize Publication Fund

Balance, 1/1/48	331 0 6	Binding 200 Vol. VI, 100 Vols. V, X, XI, XIV, XVII	65 12 6	
Sales	40 8 9	Sundries	1 12 6	
Dividends	18 0 0	31/12/48 Balance carried to Summary	322 4 3	
	£389 9 3			£389 9 3

Gold Medal Fund

Balance, 1/1/48	109 15 5	Cash Awards	75 0 0	
Dividends	9 15 0	31/12/48 Balance carried to Summary	44 10 5	
	£119 10 5			£119 10 5

University Prize Essay Fund

Balance, 1/1/48	247 8 10	Cash Prizes	35 0 0	
Dividends	20 15 4	Sundries	3 0 0	
		31/12/48 Balance carried to Summary	230 4 2	
	£268 4 2			£268 4 2

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/48	254	5	11	31/12/48 Balance carried to Summary	271	11	4
Dividends (2 Half Years)	15	2	9				
Income Tax Rebate	22	3	4				
	£271	11	4		£271	11	4

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1948

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Prize Publication Fund	532	4	8	31/12/48 Cash at Bank on Current Account	868	10	2
Gold Medal Fund	44	10	5				
Universities Prize Essay Fund	220	4	2				
Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account	271	11	4				
	£868	10	2		£868	10	2

Trust Fund Investments

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund) ("B" account).
£825 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Gold Medal Fund) ("A" account).
£845 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).
£40 3½% Conversion Stock ("B" account).
Rs. 12,000 3% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1948

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/48	55	3	10	Purchase of £48 16s. 9d. 3% Funding Stock 1959–69	50	0	0
Dividends		14	7	Medal	7	6	7
31/12/48 Balance	1	8	2				
	£57	6	7		£57	6	7

Investments.

£48 16s. 9d. 3% Funding Stock 1959–69.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1948

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/48	997	8	6	Purchase of £985 18s. 9d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960/70	1,015	16	3
Repayment of S. Australia Govt. 4% Stock	1,015	16	3	Printing 500 Vol. XXII	231	16	1
Sales	99	10	0	Printing 500 Vol. XXIII	123	18	9
Dividends and Interest	164	5	9	Binding 180 Vol. I, 50 Vol. XVII	12	17	6
Rebate of Income Tax	161	10	1	School of Oriental and African Studies—			
				2 scholarships	200	0	0
				Lecture	11	18	0
					211	18	0
				Royal India Society, subsidy towards printing Proceedings of Conference of British Orientalists	10	0	0
				R.A.S. 10% Commission Sales 1947	8	7	0
				Sundries	1	6	6
				Balance—Cash at Bank on Current Account	414	9	6
				Cash in P.O. Savings Bank	358	6	0
	£2,488	10	7		£2,488	10	7

Forlong Fund Investments

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£2,017 11s. 3d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960–70.
£1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.
£700 3½% Conversion Loan ("A" account).
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Stock ("A" account).

I have examined the above statements with the books and vouchers and hereby certify the same to be in accordance therewith. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
J. V. MILLS, Auditor for the Society.

4th October, 1949.

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